

THE LAST BATTLE ROYALE: THE CATALYST OF LEPANTO  
AND THE TERMINAL DECLINE  
OF REGNAL SACRALITY

by

Spencer Curtis Woolley

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## STATEMENT OF THESIS APPROVAL

The thesis of Spencer Curtis Woolley  
has been approved by the following supervisory committee members:

<u>Edward Davies</u>	, Chair	<u>04/12/2017</u> Date Approved
<u>Peter Von Sivers</u>	, Member	<u>04/12/2017</u> Date Approved
<u>Bradley J. Parker</u>	, Member	<u>04/12/2017</u> Date Approved

and by Eric Hinderaker, Chair of  
the Department of History

and by David B. Kieda, Dean of The Graduate School.

## ABSTRACT

As the echo of the last cannon volleys faded into the smoke-filled breeze on the seventh of October 1571, the Battle of Lepanto evaporated from a concrete event and coalesced into a cloud of myth, repeating the same phenomenon of the Battle of Salamis some two thousand years before. Contemporary European chroniclers of the battle, followed by scholars through the middle of the twentieth century, placed Lepanto as a pivotal moment in Mediterranean history, a point at which everything changed. But twentieth- and twenty-first-century studies highlighted the political and military irrelevance of the battle — the dread of the Grand Turk's navy remained.

This thesis drives off the clouds of myth, whether from the fifteenth or twenty-first centuries, and gives Lepanto a new analysis. The Battle of Lepanto marked a sea-change in Mediterranean history, but not in the traditional military or political paradigms. Rather, the Battle of Lepanto heralded a shift in European consciousness and conversation regarding sacred kingship. Regnal sacrality receives definition in the scholarship of Ernst Kantorowicz and Francis Oakley, and then is centered in a world-historical context, including a new Taxonomy of Dominion. Both the

Habsburg and Ottoman empires are examined, through that Taxonomy and in the build-up to Lepanto, culminating not in the heroics or the bloodshed, but rather in the philosophies of government espoused by Jean Bodin and Thomas Hobbes. Though the Battle of Lepanto received slight mention in either man's published works, it nevertheless looms like a low-hanging fog, permeating and surrounding their ideas of the Divine Right of Kings, and the Social Compact, respectively. The Battle of Lepanto did not alter fifteenth-century political maneuvering or military gamesmanship in any significant manner, but it did catalyze a profound change in European discourses about authority, power, and presence. After Lepanto, the divine slowly receded from politics, first to a king invested with a divine right to rule, as Bodin advocated, and then to societal agreement, articulated by Hobbes, that eliminated the *vox dei*, and placed the *vox populi* supreme.

Dedicated to my parents, whose long-suffering with never-ceasing questions  
and ever-towering piles of books now receives this long-awaited reward.

I love you, Mom and Dad.

*Omnes sub regno graviore regnum est.*

Every monarch is subject to a mightier one.

– Seneca the Younger, *Hercules Furens*, DCXIV

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### The Chrism of Kingship

George the Second, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, Archtreasurer and Prince-Elector of the Holy Roman Empire received that title on the eleventh of October, 1727. The last official act of his late father King George I naturalized a German composer as a British subject, and commissioned that adopted Briton to compose the coronation anthems for his son. George Frederic Handel chose four texts based on previous English coronations, including the most ancient — the antiphon *Unxerunt Salomonem*.<sup>1</sup> First sung at the accession of King Edgar at Bath Abbey in 973, the text declares:

Zadok the Priest, and Nathan the Prophet anointed Solomon King.  
And all the people rejoiced, and said:  
God save the King! Long live the King!  
May the King live forever,  
Amen, Hallelujah<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> “Coronation Service Guide & Reading List.pdf,” accessed March 9, 2017, [http://www.westminster-abbey.org/\\_\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0005/85955/Coronation-Service-guide-and-reading-list.pdf](http://www.westminster-abbey.org/__data/assets/pdf_file/0005/85955/Coronation-Service-guide-and-reading-list.pdf), 2.

<sup>2</sup> Roy C. Strong, *Coronation: A History of Kingship and the British Monarchy* (London: HarperCollins, 2005), 5.

The choir of Westminster Abbey managed to bungle the occasion, forgetting the anthem upon the entrance of the royal couple entirely and performing another noted by Archbishop Wake as “The Anthem in Confusion: All irregular in the Music.”<sup>3</sup> Handel intended *Zadok the Priest* to enhance the most sacred part of the ceremony, the anointing of the king. The long, slow introduction would allow for the unction of the king’s hands, breast, and head,<sup>4</sup> and the trumpet fanfare would announce the accomplishment thereof. The imitative dance mimicked the dancing of the Levites, and the anthem climaxed with the acclamation, ‘God Save the King!’<sup>5</sup> Despite the missteps and the errors that happened that day, George II nonetheless ended the eleventh of October, 1727 as a king, a hybrid creature grounded in humanity but touched by the divine. When he went to sleep that evening, he could not know that the fusion of sacredness and sovereignty that rested upon him began to 181 years and four days before his coronation.

Historical scholarship risks both oversimplification and irrelevance when it points to a specific day and time and states, ‘It all started to change right here!’ The long arc of twentieth- and twenty-first-century scholarship moved historical understanding away from the so-called ‘great-men-history’ and, to a lesser extent, ‘great-date-history.’ Spearheaded by the *Annales*

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<sup>3</sup> “Research Guide - Coronations - Coronations.pdf,” accessed March 9, 2017, <http://www.lambethpalacelibrary.org/files/Coronations.pdf>, 7. See also Strong, *Coronation*, 407.

<sup>4</sup> “Coronation Service Guide & Reading List.pdf,” 3.

<sup>5</sup> “Full Score - Zadok\_the\_Priest-Sib4.Pdf,” accessed March 9, 2017, [http://www2.cpd.org/wiki/images/a/a9/Zadok\\_the\\_Priest-Sib4.pdf](http://www2.cpd.org/wiki/images/a/a9/Zadok_the_Priest-Sib4.pdf).

school, and the idea of the *longue durée*, much of current scholarship focuses on trends, large historical forces, and unplumbed motivations centered in race, class, gender, and other cultural ideas. Such approaches have proved immensely fruitful, and indeed, will be utilized herein. Yet this thesis dares to point to a single day and argues that something *did* change on 7 October, 1571. The Battle of Lepanto, the naval battle between the Habsburg-led Holy League and the combined fleets of Ottoman galleys and North African corsairs, changed little in the immediate political climate of Europe, and changed nothing at all in the Ottoman Empire. Yet the cultural reverberations of Lepanto began to impel the raising of topics both novel and ancient in the Great Conversation held throughout Europe. One of the parties to the Conversation, Jean Bodin, would assemble the concepts that coalesced into The Divine Right of Kings. Another commentator, Thomas Hobbes, would flesh out the philosophical foundations of what became the Social Contract.<sup>6</sup> Both Bodin and Hobbes recognized that intellectual and cultural paradigms shifted after Lepanto, though both struggled to articulate the precise changes. Instead of defining the past, Hobbes and Bodin argued for different conceptions of a politico-theological future. It took some 350 years for the work of Ernst Kantorowicz and Francis Oakley to illumine the transformations started by the seaborne clash of Christian and Turk. Oakley

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<sup>6</sup> The capitalization of ‘the Great Conversation’, ‘the Divine Right of Kings’, and ‘the Social Contract’ is deliberate, and meant to indicate a specific grouping of ideas and concepts. All three of these terms will be defined in greater detail later on.

defined the combination of sacred authority with political power as “regal sacrality”<sup>7</sup> and the personification of that amalgam as a “sacral monarch.”<sup>8</sup> This thesis argues that the Battle of Lepanto served as a catalyst to impel the decline of regal sacrality first in Europe, and then, over a much longer period, for the rest of the world. While long-term historical trends indicated the imminence of change, Lepanto and its cultural aftermath enhanced and focused that process, leading to the ideas of Jean Bodin and Thomas Hobbes that structured political power away from divine agents first toward absolutist kings and, then eventually, to popular sovereignty.

To understand this process, a brief historiographical summary will finish this introduction. Chapter II will define both a taxonomy of dominion, and the notion of regal sacrality, and analyze its application across the globe in time and space. Chapter III will examine the regally sacral clash at Lepanto, and the cultural output therefrom. Chapter IV will analyze the politico-theological output of Jean Bodin and Thomas Hobbes, and Chapter V will conclude with a new evaluation of Lepanto and regal sacrality.

### Ernst Kantorowicz — The Twentieth-Century Master

Jean Bodin, Thomas Hobbes, and Francis Oakley all dissected a concatenation of ideas that may be grouped and called ‘political theology.’

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<sup>7</sup> Francis Oakley, *The Watershed of Modern Politics: Law, Virtue, Kingship, and Consent (1300-1650)*, *The Emergence of Western Political Thought in the Latin Middle Ages*, volume three (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2015), xiii.

<sup>8</sup> Oakley, *The Watershed of Modern Politics*, xiv.

This thesis also raises its metaphorical scalpel over that well-incised metaphorical cadaver. Though the scent of intellectual formaldehyde can deter the squeamish scholar, much insight can yet be achieved. The term first appeared in Mikhail Bakunin's, "The Political Theology of Mazzini and the International,"<sup>9</sup> published in 1871, but received a much fuller treatment in Carl Schmitt's *Political Theology*, written as a response to Bakunin and published in 1922.<sup>10</sup> While political theology held importance in the work of Bakunin, Schmitt, and even Leo Strauss,<sup>11</sup> the master of twentieth-century political theology appeared in the body of Ernst Kantorowicz. A scholar of unusual breadth and erudition, his last two monographs, *Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship*, and *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology*, served to paint the perimeters of inquiry into the subject.

*Laudes Regiae*, the lesser known of the two, was completed as a manuscript in German by 1936, but was not translated into English until 1946, with a second edition published in 1958.<sup>12</sup> Kantorowicz was the first to look to liturgical sources for understanding medieval politics. "[He] knew from his work on Frederick II that the motto, 'Christus vincit, Christus

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<sup>9</sup> Peter Marshall, *Demanding the Impossible: A History of Anarchism* (London: HarperCollins, 1992), 300-301.

<sup>10</sup> Carl Schmitt, *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty*, University of Chicago Press edition. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 75-76.

<sup>11</sup> Heinrich Meier and Leo Strauss, *Carl Schmitt & Leo Strauss: The Hidden Dialogue: Including Strauss's Notes on Schmitt's Concept of the Political & Three Letters from Strauss to Schmitt*, 2006.

<sup>12</sup> Robert E. Lerner, *Ernst Kantorowicz: A Life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017), 243.



regnat, Christus imperat'<sup>13</sup> appeared on the gold seal of the boy king of Sicily before he reached his maturity."<sup>14</sup> Though Frederick later changes his motto, *Laudes Regiae* tracks that triplicate acclamation through Europe, as it moves from the Normans in Sicily to the court of France, and thence to England. Kantorowicz found plausible evidence that it was used during the 1066 coronation of William the Conqueror.<sup>15</sup> Kantorowicz viewed the acclamation triad as one possible mode of medieval ruler worship, as at the moment of coronation Christ and the king become one.<sup>16</sup>

While mildly revolutionary in its own right, *Laudes Regiae* tinkles faintly in the scholarly distance compared to the thunderous, change-ringing bell peals of *The King's Two Bodies*. First published in 1957 by Princeton University Press, and continually in print since then, *The King's Two Bodies* transformed the study of medieval history. In a similar manner to the methodology of *Laudes Regiae*, Kantorowicz delved into sources theretofore unstudied concerning political theology – the corpus of medieval law. *The King's Two Bodies* takes a Tudor legal concept and expands it backwards in time, to its theological origins. Kantorowicz describes the fascinating conundrum thus:

What apparently happened was that the English jurists failed to make a clear-cut distinction between the corporate body of the Crown and

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<sup>13</sup> 'Christ triumphs! Christ reigns, Christ commands!', respectively.

<sup>14</sup> Lerner, *Ernst Kantorowicz*, 243.

<sup>15</sup> Ernst H. Kantorowicz and Manfred F. Bukofzer, *Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship with A Study of the Music of the Laudes and Musical Transcriptions*, Second, vol. 33, University of California Publications in History (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1958), 178.

<sup>16</sup> Lerner, *Ernst Kantorowicz*, 244.

the supra-individual personage of the Dignity, and instead equated each other with the body politic. . . That is to say, they fused two different concepts of the current corporational doctrines: the organic and the successional. And from this fusion of a number of interrelated corporational concepts there originated, it seems, both the “King’s body politic” and the king as “corporation sole.”<sup>17</sup>

The concepts elucidated by Kantorowicz in *The King’s Two Bodies* slowly trickled their way through European and American thought, showing up in such famed locales as Michel Foucault’s *Discipline and Punish*.<sup>18</sup>

Kantorowicz’s *magnum opus* remains a standard of medieval studies, and of political science in general. Yet, as the twenty-first century dawned, a new scholar sought to refine Kantorowicz’ arguments, and to posit more extensive origins for political thought.

### Francis Oakley — The Twenty First-Century Maven

Francis Oakley is the Edward Door Griffin Professor of the History of Ideas, Emeritus at Williams College, and President-Emeritus of the College and of the American Council of Learned Societies.<sup>19</sup> He has published on a variety of medieval and early modern topics since the mid-nineteen-eighties, including *The Conciliarist Tradition: Constitutionalism in the Catholic Church 1300-1870* in 2003, and *Kingship: The Politics of Enchantment* in 2006. His *magnum opus*, ten years in the making, appears as a three-volume

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<sup>17</sup> Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology*, Princeton Classics (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 449.

<sup>18</sup> Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Second Vintage Books edition. (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 3. The whole scenario of the execution of Robert-François Damiens that begins the first chapter owes much to Kantorowicz.

<sup>19</sup> Oakley, *The Watershed of Modern Politics*, back dustcover.

series, ‘The Emergence of Western Political Thought in the Latin Middle Ages’, consisting of *Empty Bottles of Gentilism: Kingship and the Divine in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages (to 1050)*, *The Mortgage of the Past: Reshaping the Ancient Political Inheritance (1050-1300)*, and *The Watershed of Modern Politics: Law, Virtue, Kingship, and Consent (1300-1650)*, all published in 2015. Oakley’s approach to political theology built on the historical techniques, methodologies, and theories that formed into existence after Kantorowicz published *The King’s Two Bodies* in 1957, combined with the ideas of John Neville Figgis.<sup>20</sup> In ‘The Emergence of Western Political Thought in the Latin Middle Ages,’ Oakley emphasized a *longue durée* view of political development, built up incrementally over time, as regnal sacrality traditions accreted upon each other, only to gently slough off.<sup>21</sup> He also argued for the importance of conciliarism, which stemmed from his exegesis of John Neville Figgis,<sup>22</sup> consisting of mutually-agreed upon systems of government, negotiated between multiple political actors with increasing levels of participation amongst larger and larger numbers of people.<sup>23</sup>

Kantorowicz and Oakley argued their respective cases convincingly. Kantorowicz deals with generalities, while Oakley mined the specific

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<sup>20</sup> John Neville Figgis, *The Divine Right of Kings* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), 221.

<sup>21</sup> Oakley, *The Watershed of Modern Politics*, 3.

<sup>22</sup> John Neville Figgis, *Political Thought from Gerson to Grotius, 1414-1625: Seven Studies* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1960), 47.

<sup>23</sup> Oakley, *The Watershed of Modern Politics*, 210.

examples.<sup>24</sup> Oakley fleshed out the details that Kantorowicz hinted at, but their combined rhetorical might does not quite hit the target of a complete politico-theological narrative.<sup>25</sup> To be sure, the Kantorowicz-Oakley intellectual archery team struck close to the bulls-eye, but further analysis must be done to move the arrows of thought yet closer to the mark. In particular, Oakley amply demonstrated his case for a gradual political development amidst incremental cultural change, but Oakley did not sufficiently address the possibility of catalyzing events, notably for this thesis the Battle of Lepanto. As noted above, the danger of over-reliance on the explanatory utility of single days, or documents, or battles should not be underestimated, yet the possibility of such catalyzing moments should also not be dismissed out of hand. As will be shown, 7 October, 1571 and the Battle of Lepanto functions as one such day, and one such battle that does inaugurate a sea-change within the world of political thought. Yet before rowing off with Don Juan of Austria and Müezzinzade Ali Pasha, a study must be made of what commences to end at Lepanto: the idea of regnal sacrality, and its many uses across the world, as well as a classification of dominion itself. Like diverse other historical ideas, that classification can

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<sup>24</sup> Which may in part explain the differences in page count, 568 in *The King's Two Bodies* and 1,048 across Oakley's three volumes.

<sup>25</sup> This is not to say that *any* work of history achieves a complete narrative, or even approaches the fever-dream of actual objectivity. Both are decidedly unobtainable goals that nevertheless improve the work of historians who strive ever harder, but never achieve full possession.

best be understood in the paradigm of after-school cartoons from the early nineteen-eighties.

## CHAPTER II

### DEUS VULT: REGNAL SACRALITY IN A WORLD-HISTORICAL CONTEXT

#### He-Man Illumines a Taxonomy of Dominion

In the late nineteen-seventies, the toy company Mattel sought to capitalize on the new interest Americans possessed regarding science fiction and fantasy as demonstrated by the success of the *Star Wars* films. Mattel refused George Lucas' offer of \$750,000 for toy manufacturing rights, only to miss out on the astronomical sales' growth that *Star Wars* merchandise enjoyed.<sup>26</sup> The solution proved to be the potent alchemy of toys marketed to boys by means of a cartoon, *He-Man and the Masters of the Universe*. In the contexts of political theology, regnal sacrality or the Battle of Lepanto, He-Man would be utterly irrelevant, except that the title sequence of the cartoon superbly demonstrates what shall be called hereafter the Taxonomy of Dominion, or for brevity, the Taxonomy, given as Figure 1 at the end of this chapter. Forming a classification system for the operations of Dominion illumines the *modus operandi* of regnal sacrality, as well as that of other

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<sup>26</sup> "Mastering the Universe: He-Man and the Rise and Fall of a Billion-Dollar Idea by Roger Sweet and Dav | PopMatters," accessed March 9, 2017, <http://www.popmatters.com/review/mastering-the-universe/>.

political systems. Indeed, any political apparatus can be analyzed and illuminated by running it through the Taxonomy.

It must be clearly stated that ideas about political power, about some human beings exercising control over other human beings, are among the oldest created, and the oldest written about in multiple cultures across the globe. *The Republic* of Plato,<sup>27</sup> *The Analects* of Confucius,<sup>28</sup> *The Constitution of the Five Nations* used by the Iroquois,<sup>29</sup> and diverse other sources and authors talked about, argued over, and published concerning how and why to administer dominion upon others. The Taxonomy draws upon that rich tradition, but its more immediate origins well up in Jerry D. Moore's *Architecture and Power in the Ancient Andes: The Archaeology of Public Buildings*,<sup>30</sup> and Bradley J. Parker's *The Mechanics of Empire: The Northern Frontier of Assyria as a Case Study in Imperial Dynamics*.<sup>31</sup> The specific ideological genealogy will be demonstrated later, but first, to give the Model its basic framework, the mnemonic Chant of Evocation: 'In the Cloud of Presence, made of Ideological Vapor, the Four Pillars of Dominion float.

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<sup>27</sup> Plato and Christopher Rowe. *The Republic* (New York: Penguin Classics Reprint Edition, 2012).

<sup>28</sup> Confucius and D. C. Lau, *The Analects (Lun Yü)*, Penguin Classics (Harmondsworth; New York: Penguin Books, 1979).

<sup>29</sup> Anonymous, "The Constitution of the Five Nations." translated and edited by Arthur Caswell Parker, *New York State Museum Bulletin*. 184. (Albany: The University of the State of New York Press, April 1916), Kindle edition.

<sup>30</sup> Jerry D. Moore, *Architecture and Power in the Ancient Andes: The Archaeology of Public Buildings*, New Studies in Archaeology (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

<sup>31</sup> Bradley J. Parker, *The Mechanics of Empire: The Northern Frontier of Assyria as a Case Study in Imperial Dynamics* (Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2001).

Authority gives the right, Power holds the potential, Coercion changes the mind, and Force strikes the target. The Four Rhetorical Winds churn the Cloud; Reason puffs logic, Emotion blows feeling, Data gusts outside, and Experience squalls within.’ The mnemonic Chant establishes the outline for the Taxonomy, and the definitions follow:<sup>32</sup>

**Presence**<sup>33</sup> – the many and varied ways that human beings are drawn to each other, thence following and obeying, or remaining with and supporting other people, institutions, organizations, and polities. It is the *je ne sais quoi* that induces human beings to march to the ends of the earth, to murder their neighbors, and to join in concord with strangers. Chutzpah, good vibes, *élan*, physical symmetry, a pleasant or commanding voice, and responses to pheromones would all fall under Presence. This use and definition of Presence owes much to the work of Robert A. Orsi, in his seminal *History and Presence*. Orsi’s analysis of divine presences also applies to the Taxonomy’s use of human ones.

While the gods have been agents of conformity and submission in certain contexts at particular times, they have also flouted social norms, disrupted political agendas, and disappointed the expectations of the powerful. . . Presence is real, but it is not necessarily good, not necessarily bad, and it is rarely either good *or* bad, as these words are understood in ordinary social discourse.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> These are not drawn from any dictionary, but from the sources indicated, and the author’s own conceptions.

<sup>33</sup> Going forward, whenever ‘Authority,’ ‘Power,’ ‘Coercion,’ ‘Force,’ ‘Reason,’ ‘Emotion,’ ‘Evidence,’ ‘Experience,’ ‘Presence,’ etc. are capitalized, they shall refer back to the Taxonomy and their Taxonomic definitions.

<sup>34</sup> Robert A. Orsi, *History and Presence* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016), 5. Emphasis in the original,



Presence itself gains sustenance, strength and longevity from the Four Rhetorical Winds.

**Ideology** – taken directly from Jerry D. Moore, “the social production of meaning.”<sup>35</sup> Meaning acts as the fundamental particle or molecule in the Taxonomy, the thing of which everything else consists of at the most basic level. And since meaning thrives in sociality, that process forms the Cloud, and controls the function of all within it.

**Dominion** – control over other human beings, compelling them to conform to various standards or degrees of cooperation and support. Floating inside the Cloud of Presence and formed of Ideological Vapor, Dominion lies outside the Four Pillars, and yet penetrates them; while a general progression is implied by the order of the Pillars, Dominion can be accessed at any point.

**Authority** – the *right*, or *permission*, to exercise Dominion. Authority is always extra-local. Authority may be symbolized by regalia, represented by parliaments, or ritualized in coronations or investitures, but Authority itself is never immediately, tangibly present but always abstract.

**Power** – the *ability*, or *potentiality* to exercise Dominion. Power may be immediately present or not. It could be the possible strength of an arm, the possession of technology for surveillance, or the recruitment of an army. Power is not located in the use of the arm to lift or strike, the operation of the

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<sup>35</sup> Moore, *Architecture and Power in the Ancient Andes*, 171.

spy-cameras to acquire data, or in the actions of an army against a fortified city. Power lies in the possibility of so doing.

**Coercion** – the *threat*, or *warning* of the exercise of Dominion. Coercion brings the potentiality of power close to home. It can be immediately present, or not. Coercion operates openly as the delivery of an ultimatum, or the unveiling of instruments of torment. It can also work more subtly, as the second-hand knowledge of a large body of troops across the border, or even the deep emotional regard and love of one human for another, convincing someone to change or adapt. Coercion is the psychology of Dominion, an attempt at mental submission.

**Force** – to be understood as the meaning of the word in Newtonian physics, the application of *energy* to objects and bodies, to exercise Dominion in a physical sense. Force is the nail fastening the rabbi's flesh to the cross, the Uranium-235 reaction inside the fission bomb Fat Man over Nagasaki, the impact of the battering ram upon the walls of Lachish.

**Reason** – the rhetoric of *logical reasoning* to submit to Dominion. Both inductive and deductive reasoning are included in this Rhetorical Wind. Human beings can be Dominated by logical arguments, particularly in educated societies, though other methods appear with greater frequency. 'Here are reasons X, Y, and Z as to why you should pay your taxes.'

**Emotion** – the rhetoric of *emotional feeling* to submit to Dominion. All humans feel and respond to emotion on an atavistic, visceral level. This

Rhetorical Wind receives the most usage, and it is often the most effective.

‘Your golden crown and crimson robe fill me with a sense of awe and wonder.

Yes, I will follow you to Babylon!’

**Data** – the rhetoric of *external, physical evidence* to submit to Dominion. While Reason and Emotion can operate without any evidence outside of themselves, Data functions in the physical world, dependent on proof and evidence. It includes events witnessed, books read, heads counted, and numbers crunched. It almost always blows along with both Reason and Emotion to convince and Coerce. ‘The Romans sacked Jotapata and Samaria. Jerusalem is next!’

**Experience** – the rhetoric of *internal, mental evidence*. Experience digests and mulls over the previous three Rhetorical Winds, and then applies them to new and differing circumstances. It is the remembrance of things past, and the use of memory in determining submission to or resistance of Dominion. ‘Hmm. The last time I tried to collect taxes from the Bostonians, they dumped tea into the harbor. Maybe I should not try to collect from them again?’

In like manner to the Four Pillars, the definitional boundaries of the Four Rhetorical Winds intermingle with each other; there is no bright line where Reason ends and Data begins, for example. While the Taxonomy strives to define deeply complicated relationships, any such definitions must, for ontological clarity, remain approximations. As a tool of historical analysis,

the Taxonomy forces the scholar to quantify and define the murky and intricate operations of a political entity into more comprehensible parts. This allows for clearer comparison and improved understanding. To return back to 1983, the title sequence to *He-Man and Masters of the Universe*<sup>36</sup> would appear in the Taxonomy like this: He-Man derives his Authority from his magic sword and his identity as Prince Adam. He accesses his Power when he holds the sword aloft and says, “By the power of Grayskull, I have the power!” The Coercive-convincing relationship between Cringer and Prince Adam gives Cringer the fortitude, though terrified, to endure until He-Man’s magical Force transforms him into Battle Cat. While He-Man demonstrates the wide applicability of the Taxonomy, he is also a decidedly fictional character. A real-world historical example could take the case study of Roman emperors, adapted from the work of Fergus Millar: To receive the Authority of emperor, a candidate needed to be hailed by the army, acknowledged by the Senate, and acclaimed by the Roman people. Having completed those three steps, the emperor gained access to the Power of the state and military. Through Coercion, he could keep the empire functioning, but sometimes the application of Force was required to bring recalcitrant provinces in line.<sup>37</sup> The Four Rhetorical Winds could provide further understanding. An emperor might achieve greater success with the Senate by

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<sup>36</sup> “He-Man: Opening Theme - YouTube,” accessed March 9, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7yeA7a0uS3A>.

<sup>37</sup> Fergus Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World: 31 BC-AD 337* (London: Duckworth, 1977), 11.

appeals to Reason, while the army might respond with more enthusiasm for calls to Emotion.<sup>38</sup> The emperor would use tax farmers and censors to gather Data, while perhaps penning a narrative of his reign, both for his own Experience and for future emperors.<sup>39</sup>

While the Taxonomy may be an interesting and useful schema to ponder political relationships, what relevance does it possess regarding questions of regnal sacrality? It is precisely here that the definitions of the Taxonomy reveal their illuminative capacity. As noted above, Authority is always extra-local, always abstract. The symbols and representations of Authority are always physical and concrete, or even embodied. In the Sumerian king list, one of the oldest written records of regnal sacrality, heaven is a physical space and the gods operate with corporeal flesh. “When the kingship was lowered from heaven, the kingship was at Eridu.”<sup>40</sup> This seems to imply a physical object, one that can be raised and lowered from heaven at will, as it is brought back again to Kish after the Flood.<sup>41</sup> Yet even in an antediluvian age, kingship in the Sumerian king list functions more like a tropological robe to be taken on or off, passed down to a successor or handed up back to heaven. Indeed, the association between Authority and

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<sup>38</sup> G. Julius Caesar was a master at sophisticated rhetoric while speaking to the Senate, and of scatological humor when addressing his legions.

<sup>39</sup> The emperor Claudius did write an autobiography of eight books that did not survive into modernity. Robert Graves took this autobiography as the MacGuffin for *I, Claudius* and *Claudius the God*.

<sup>40</sup> Thorkild Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List*, Assyriological Studies 11 (Chicago: University of California Press, 1939), line 1, 71.

<https://oi.uchicago.edu/sites/oi.uchicago.edu/files/uploads/shared/docs/as11.pdf>.

<sup>41</sup> Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List*, line 41, 77.

investiture draws upon that very metaphor. A slightly more modern conception of the abstract/concrete paradox of Authority arises in a phrase long-used both in French and English: *Le roi est mort. Vive le roi*. The King is dead. Long live the King. In both languages, the syntax and punctuation are the same. Authority, embodied and symbolized in the old king, departs with the period after '*mort/dead*.' In the breath between the two sentences, Authority has become an abstraction. But then Authority rushes back to concreteness in the '*Vive/Long live*,' when it is re-embodied and re-symbolized again in '*le roi/the King*.' This is a subtle but important distinction, as the temporary abstractness of Authority allows it to be perpetuated. Authority takes the strength of Presence through a process of distillation and crystallization into a less ephemeral state. In twenty first-century terms, Authority specifically and the Taxonomy of Dominion generally emerges in the abstraction of the Social Contract, or the will of the people. Where is the Social Contract located? Who signed it? Can one go into a national archive and see the Social Contract on display behind bulletproof glass? And can one reach out and grab hold of the will of the people? The answer to all of the above questions must be negative. A person can go into the National Archives of the United States of America, and view a symbol of the Social Contract, the Constitution that directs how Dominion should be applied within the United States, but the Social Contract itself remains extra-local and abstract. Popular sovereignty has been distilled and crystallized in that document. But

this thesis concerns itself with a milieu before the modern conception of the Social Contract, when the Taxonomy, and in particular Authority, flowed not from a consensus among human-beings-as-peers, but from a supernatural or divine fountain of Dominion. Having provided a framework for comprehension, an analysis of the diffusion of regnal sacrality can now be undertaken.

The connection between the Taxonomy and its closest intellectual progenitors starts to tease out the concept of regnal sacrality. To do so means looking at the basic, ancient nature of humanity. Karen Armstrong contended:

We are meaning-seeking creatures. Dogs, as far as we know, do not agonise about the canine condition, worry about the plight of dogs in other parts of the world, or try to see their lives from a different perspective. But human beings fall easily into despair, and from the very beginning we invented stories that enabled us to place our lives in a larger setting, that revealed an underlying pattern, and gave us a sense that, against all the depressing and chaotic evidence to the contrary, life had meaning and value.<sup>42</sup>

Armstrong further argued that hominid cultures as early as the Paleolithic Era engaged in behaviors that pointed to ideas of meaning beyond physical reality, and specifically existence beyond death.<sup>43</sup> Where the locus of meaning resides gets divided based on academic training. Stewart M. Hoover and Knut Lundby noted that scholars of culture tend to focus on human beings as “meaning *makers*” while scholars of religion view humans as “meaning

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<sup>42</sup> Karen Armstrong, *A Short History of Myth* (Edinburgh; New York: Canongate, 2012), Kindle edition, location 64.

<sup>43</sup> Anderson, *A Short History of Myth*, location 57.

*seekers*.”<sup>44</sup> Either location of meaning would feed in to Jerry D. Moore’s paradigm of that conglomeration of myth and meaning, ideology. Moore posited:

If ideology is defined as the social production of meaning, then it seems obvious that any number of institutions, groups, classes, clans, and — most importantly — individuals have the potential to create meaning. . . . As populations increase, as factions crystallize, or as multi-ethnic communities develop, multiple sets of meanings can emerge and diverse meanings may be applied to the same symbol, creating the potential for discourse and dissent.<sup>45</sup>

Moore further acknowledged the work of Roger Neil Rasnake in clarifying and enhancing Max Weber’s definition of domination as “power resulting from a socially recognized position of leadership.”<sup>46</sup> Moreover, Rasnake saw political institutions as a fluid, changeable, and difficult to pin down:

Social institutions and the cultural precepts associated with them are precarious constructions, created in history by particular social entities. Principles of organization, values, and worldview exist only as they are socially reproduced in interaction and, we might add, in a particular context of power and property relations. Nor is this cultural construction a one-time thing; it must be enunciated again and again, to the current members of society and to future generations.<sup>47</sup>

These ideas of Moore, Rasnake, and Armstrong inspired the formation of the Taxonomy as a loose, nebulous engine of understanding. While more specific analysis can, should, and will be made of specific regnal sacrality cultures, a

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<sup>44</sup> Stewart M. Hoover and Knut Lundby, eds., *Rethinking Media, Religion, and Culture* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1997), 243. Emphases in the original.

<sup>45</sup> Moore, *Architecture and Power in the Ancient Andes*, 171.

<sup>46</sup> Roger Neil Rasnake, *Domination and Cultural Resistance: Authority and Power Among an Andean People* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1988), 265-266, cited in Moore, *Architecture and Power in the Ancient Andes*, 171.

<sup>47</sup> Rasnake, *Domination and Cultural Resistance*, 269, cited in Moore, *Architecture and Power in the Ancient Andes*, 171



firmer framework would ignore the subtle distinctions indicated.

Bradley J. Parker took Moore's and Rasnake's ideas about power and domination, developed in the study of Andean cultures, and applied them across the globe in time and space to the Neo-Assyrian Empire. In the concluding chapter of *The Mechanics of Empire*, Parker provides the following definitions:

Power is defined here as the ability of one group to achieve its goals by eliciting the desired response in others through pressure, intimidation, or coercion. Power does not rely on direct action on the part of the dominator, but instead on the perception the dominated holds of the dominator. . . Power is static in the sense that once it is achieved it remains as long as the dominator maintains its wealth, prestige, and military prowess. Force, on the other hand, is the direct use of military strength by one group to compel others to comply with their will. Force is dynamic because once the action has taken place, it is over.<sup>48</sup>

The Taxonomy of Dominion expands Parker's scope and refines his nomenclature, but remains heavily reliant upon Parker's synthesis of the scholarship of Michael Mann and Edward Luttwak.<sup>49</sup> With the Taxonomy now properly established and appropriately attributed, a study can now be made of the world-historical penetration and depth of regnal sacrality.

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<sup>48</sup> Parker, *The Mechanics of Empire*, 259.

<sup>49</sup> Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012). Per Parker, *The Mechanics of Empire*, 259, volume 1, chapter 8 is particularly relevant, and Edward Luttwak, *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire: From the First Century CE to the Third*, Revised and updated edition (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2016), 195-200. Again, per Parker, *The Mechanics of Empire*, 259.

### Regnal Sacrality Across the Globe

Granted that human beings both create meaning and seek after it, and given that these tendencies have applied to human beings across time and space, the specific formulations of regnal sacrality nevertheless arise in specific cultural contexts. Francis Oakley catalogued notable examples in “Ireland and the Sudan, India and Peru, Scandinavia and Polynesia, West Africa and China.”<sup>50</sup> A detailed discussion of all of the variations on regnal sacrality would fill many thousands of pages, yet this thesis can start to illumine the meta-narrative, beginning in the birthplace of humanity, Africa.

Perhaps the most obvious form of regnal sacrality views the monarch as literally divine, a god on the earth. The Pharaohs of Egypt embodied this conception. Not merely political leaders or military commanders, the Pharaoh’s most important duties mediated between the gods and their human subjects and worshipers.<sup>51</sup> But this idea of the king-as-a-god did not penetrate farther south in the African continent than the cataracts of the Nile, due to a combination of cultural differences and geographic barriers. Luc de Heusch wrote, “In . . . Africa, it would be truer to say that through a special kind of investiture, a particular person . . . is endowed with a unique property, best understood by considering that the holder is transformed into

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<sup>50</sup> Francis Oakley, *Kingship: The Politics of Enchantment, New Perspectives on the Past* (Malden, MA; Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 17.

<sup>51</sup> Paul John Frandsen, “Aspects of Kingship in Ancient Egypt,” in *Religion and Power: Divine Kingship in the Ancient World and Beyond*, ed. Nicole Brisch, Oriental Institute Seminars 4 (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 2008), 48.

a ‘fetish-body.’”<sup>52</sup> de Heusch then defined this ‘fetish-body’ as “those things which, in their sovereign, mute independence, refer only to themselves . . . One sees then, the origin of the royal-fetish body — a living person whose mystical capacity is closely tied to the integrity of his physical being.”<sup>53</sup> This provides a solid foundation for understanding the basics of regnal sacrality generally in sub-Saharan Africa, but de Heusch did not fill in the details, or highlight specific examples. Fortunately, William Fagg stepped in to fill the gap, with his important monograph, *Divine Kingship in Africa*. Despite the grandiose title, Fagg specifically examined the institution of the *Oba*, the sacred rulers of the Yoruba in and around the Gold Coast. Fagg would concur with de Heusch’s assessment of the fetish-body, noting that *Obas* are depicted on bronze plaques swinging leopards by the hands and with mudfish swimming around their feet.<sup>54</sup> Leopards function as a near-universal West African symbol of kingship, while the mudfish indicate authority over the sea.<sup>55</sup> The *Obas* displayed their authority and wielded their power through the control of the metal trade. Putting the form of the *Oba* into cast bronze or iron represented the *Oba*’s strength, wealth, and ability to endure the rigors of time.<sup>56</sup> Indeed, some sixteenth-century *Obas* ordered cast-bronze statuettes of Portuguese musketeers, associating the European merchant-adventurers

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<sup>52</sup> Luc de Heusch, “Forms of Sacralized Power in Africa,” in *The Character of Kingship*, ed. Declan Quigley, English (Oxford: Berg, 2005), 25.

<sup>53</sup> de Heusch, “Forms of Sacralized Power in Africa,” 26.

<sup>54</sup> William Buller Fagg, *Divine Kingship in Africa*, 2d ed. ([London: Published for the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Publications, 1978), 10.

<sup>55</sup> Fagg, *Divine Kingship in Africa*, 10.

<sup>56</sup> Fagg, *Divine Kingship in Africa*, 28.

with their own prestige.<sup>57</sup> Moving yet further south on the African continent, Ian Fowler discussed the differences among the “Kingdoms of the Cameroon Grassfields.” In his eponymous article, Fowler viewed the region as the “cradle of the Bantu,”<sup>58</sup> yet that ethno-linguistic group displayed remarkable diversity, requiring royally sacred solutions:

Internal diversity is the problem which is solved by technologies of containment. These produce locality through closure and unity derived from the shared ancestral substances of the King, obtained through sacrifice to dynastic ancestors, stored in him and shared with his subjects. The Mankon king is like a pump at the center of a hydraulic system, circulating life forces.<sup>59</sup>

Again, Fowler mimicked de Heusch in the embodiment of the king containing divine forces yet enduring as a human.

All three of the previously discussed Africanist authors — de Heusch, Fagg, and Fowler — engaged in a scholarly response to the grandfather of anthropology and comparative religion, Sir James Frazer. Frazer published *The Golden Bough*<sup>60</sup> in 1922, at the high-water mark of the historiographical genre called imperial history. Frazer adapted imperial historical techniques to comparative religion, namely the imposition of European and Mediterranean motifs to disparate cultures that bore some slight similarity to each. David M. Gordon critiqued all of the above in “(Dis)embodying

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<sup>57</sup> Fagg, *Divine Kingship in Africa*, 33.

<sup>58</sup> Ian Fowler, “Kingdoms of the Cameroon Grassfields,” *Reviews in Anthropology* 40, no. 4 (October 2011): 292, doi:10.1080/00938157.2011.624994.

<sup>59</sup> Fowler, “Kingdoms of the Cameroon Grassfields,” 295.

<sup>60</sup> James George Frazer and Robert Fraser, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*, Reissued, Oxford World’s Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

Sovereignty: Divine Kingship in Central African Historiography.” Gordon discredited Frazier, and noted that de Heusch, Fagg, and Fowler all attempted to decolonize the narrative of sacred kingship, with varying levels of success.<sup>61</sup> Gordon argued that:

Even while Frazer’s divine kingship is no longer fashionable, academic notions of spiritual power still remain an imaginative, sometimes self-serving, interpretation of African rituals, culture, and history. In art history and museum display Africa nostalgia has attained cosmopolitan finesse. The sentiment is linked to the contemporary imagination of an art world where the spiritual has come to substitute for a previous fascination with the primitive.<sup>62</sup>

Gordon’s dissection of the imperial debris will hopefully lead to further scholarship separate from Frazer’s impositions.

Departing from the sub-Saharan African traditions of regnal sacrality of the king functioning as a container for divinity without being divine himself, Mesoamerican and Andean traditions appear much more similar to Egyptian concepts of sacred rule. Francis Oakley noted that Mayan kings “were charged with a broad array of military, administrative, judicial, economic, and, above all, ritual and religious functions.”<sup>63</sup> Linda Schele and David Freidel declaimed in their monograph, *A Forest of Kings: The Untold Story of the Ancient Maya*:

The magical person of the king was the pivot and pinnacle of a pyramid of people, the summit of a ranking of families that extended out to incorporate everyone in the kingdom — from highest to lowest. His person was the conduit of the sacred, the path of communication to

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<sup>61</sup> David M. Gordon, “(Dis)Embodying Sovereignty: Divine Kingship in Central African Historiography,” *The Journal of African History* 57, no. 01 (March 2016): 64,.

<sup>62</sup> Gordon, “(Dis)Embodying Sovereignty,” 66.

<sup>63</sup> Oakley, *Kingship*, 28.

the Otherworld, the means of contacting the dead, indeed of surviving death itself. He was the clarifier of the mysteries of everyday life, of planting and harvesting, of illness and death. . . The people reaped the benefits of the king's intercession with the supernatural world and shared in the material wealth his successful performance brought to the community.<sup>64</sup>

While the Mayan pattern contained kingship of individual polities into relatively small city-states, the Andean strategy both diffused and centralized regnal sacrality. The Chimú Empire granted its conquered peoples in the Jequetepeque Valley a great deal of latitude in religious observation, allowing for the continuance of native rituals as long as tribute followed to the Chimú, preferring “an imperial civilization reliant on indirect rule.”<sup>65</sup> In contrast, the Inca were less imperially indirect; the regnal sacrality of the Sapa Inca or *Inka Qhapac* was demonstrated by his marriages to conquered rulers' daughters. In turn, these prize-wives would care for his mummy after his decease, and would maintain his household in perpetuity.<sup>66</sup>

This brief survey of a few of the many examples of regnal sacrality across world history highlight a few important points. The specific practices of regnal sacrality functioned diversely in their own cultural paradigms, yet the basic theory of the Taxonomy of Dominion bears out — that Authority can be embodied, symbolized, or represented, but it remains abstract and

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<sup>64</sup> Linda Schele and David A. Freidel, *A Forest of Kings: The Untold Story of the Ancient Maya* (New York: Quill/W. Morrow, 1992), 98.

<sup>65</sup> Edward R. Swenson, “Local Ideological Strategies and the Politics of Ritual Space in the Chimú Empire,” *Archaeological Dialogues* 14, no. 01 (June 2007): 61, doi:10.1017/S138020380700219X.

<sup>66</sup> Terence N. D'Altroy, *The Incas, Second edition, The Peoples of America* (Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015), 180.

extra-local, while Power, Coercion, and Force work in a concrete, local mode. In the premodern milieu, Authority appeared from a connection to a supernatural or divine source. In cosmological civilizations, that Authoritative connection appeared more concrete, as in the case of the Sumerian king list. In post Axial-Age religions and polities, such as Zoroastrianism and Daoism, the discovery of transcendence and the possibility of salvation separate from the state placed the monarch's justice second to that of the transcendent, but monarchs soon co-opted that transcendence as their ally. The spectrum of cosmological and transcendental Authority runs from meaning that the sacred monarch *is* a god, as in the case of Pharaoh, that the monarch houses divine forces, like the Yoruba *Oba*, that the monarch functions as an avatar and oracle of divinity as did the Mayan kings, or that the sacred monarch acts as an agent of the divine, while retaining varying levels of humanity. That particular aspect, of the king as the agent of the divine will that arose from the monarchical covenants in post-Axial Age Abrahamic religions, becomes increasingly more important in turning back to the specific milieu and geography that generated the Battle of Lepanto, that of the Levant and Middle East.

### The Missing Piece of Neo-Assyrian Influence

While the scholarship concerning divine kingship outside of Europe and the Levant continues to increase, the scholarly corpus of divine kingship remains centered around the European peninsula, the Mediterranean basin,

and adjacent points. This imbalance in the work done, and being done, should not then come at a surprise, for two important reasons: First, the development of critical historical scholarship in Europe and America during the nineteenth century, and second, the immense number of European and Middle Eastern primary sources that discussed regnal sacrality, going back thousands of years. That explains in part the difficulty in examining divine kingship in African, Mesoamerican, and Andean cultures, and highlights the temptation, personified in Frazer, to impose European/Middle Eastern-style paradigms upon them. Those cultures' texts concerning kingship are either no longer extant,<sup>67</sup> or the cultures transmitted the data via nontextual means. This Eurocentric saturation of regnal sacrality texts also demonstrates why the authors featured in the previous section tended to self-identify as archaeologists or anthropologists first, and historians second. Due to the lack of textual evidence, they approached regnal sacrality from an architectural viewpoint, as in Moore's *Architecture and Power in the Ancient Andes* or one based on material culture, as in Fagg's *Divine Kingship in Africa*.

But to approach more closely the milieu of Lepanto, a historian should<sup>68</sup> consult the body of textual evidence written from a European and Middle Eastern paradigm. That is certainly the methodology that Francis Oakley took in *The Emergence of Western Political Thought in the Latin*

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<sup>67</sup> As in the case of the Maya, where vast majority of the libraries were burned by the conquistadors.

<sup>68</sup> But does not necessarily have to. Europe and the Levant have sacred architecture and material culture as well.



*Middle Ages*. And in all frankness, he did an excellent job. As stated previously, the sixty years between Kantorowicz and Oakley allowed the latter to fill in many of the lacunae of the former, and to greatly expand the scope and depth of the argument for the origins of modern political thought. Because of the scope of his inquiry, Oakley started before the time periods that Kantorowicz considered, and ended his analysis centuries after Kantorowicz concluded his arguments. In the first volume, *Empty Bottles of Gentilism*, Oakley began with the stirrings of prehistory, and then proceeded to the fountainheads of kingship, Egypt and Mesopotamia.<sup>69</sup> His treatment of Egypt went into much further depth than his views on Mesopotamia, with multiple quotations from the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts and a poem from the reign of Amen-en-ehet III.<sup>70</sup> But with Mesopotamia, Oakley missed an opportunity for greater breadth. Mesopotamian kingship received definition as a contrast to the Egyptian model. Instead of the monarch being actually divine, the Mesopotamian king, “or *lugal*, was viewed as no more than a man. He was, nevertheless, a ‘very great man.’”<sup>71</sup> Earlier in the chapter he lumped “Sumerian, Akkadian, Kassite, Hurrian, [and] Chaldean,” together as both remarkably similar but necessarily different in the conception and execution of regnal sacrality.<sup>72</sup> He noted that the majority of the evidence relevant to

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<sup>69</sup> Francis Oakley, *Empty Bottles of Gentilism: Kingship and the Divine in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages (to 1050)*, *The Emergence of Western Political Thought in the Latin Middle Ages*, v. 1 (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), 21.

<sup>70</sup> Oakley, *Empty Bottles of Gentilism*, 24.

<sup>71</sup> Oakley, *Empty Bottles of Gentilism*, 25-26.

<sup>72</sup> Oakley, *Empty Bottles of Gentilism*, 23.

his argument appears in the Neo-Assyrian and Chaldean periods,<sup>73</sup> but then spent the balance of his attention on Egypt. Oakley is correct to emphasize “the remarkable degree of continuity, stability, and uniformity”<sup>74</sup> that existed in both Egypt and Mesopotamia across millennia of monarchy, but by not delving deeper into the Mesopotamian paradigm, Oakley set himself up for a more significant misstep in chapter three.

What did Oakley neglect, or to be more precise, what opportunities did Oakley bypass on his way to material more personally familiar to him?<sup>75</sup> Simply put, Oakley should have emphasized more strongly the primacy of the Neo-Assyrian empire in the enhancement and spread of regal sacrality throughout the Middle East and Levant. Even more importantly, Oakley did not connect the Neo-Assyrian monarchical experience with its influence on the Hebrew Bible, the ur-text for both Christianity and Islam<sup>76</sup>, and thus for the combatants at Lepanto.

The Neo-Assyrian period ran from 930 to 610 BCE, a milieu that presaged and then participated in the Axial Age of world-historical fame.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Oakley, *Empty Bottles of Gentilism*, 23.

<sup>74</sup> Oakley, *Empty Bottles of Gentilism*, 23-24.

<sup>75</sup> All scholars do such bypassing, and Oakley should not be overly criticized for giving a mostly adequate survey of unfamiliar material. See the above section on African and Mesoamerican/Andean regnal sacrality. Living in a glass house, I do not wish to cast stones, but merely indicate where Oakley should upgrade his scholarly windows.

<sup>76</sup> The path between the *Tanakh* and Christian holy books travels a much shorter distance than between the *Tanakh* and the *Qu’ran*. Nevertheless, the *Qu’ran* does bear unmistakable Hebrew imprints, if not with the clarity and smoothness as found in, for example, the epistles of Paul.

<sup>77</sup> Peter R. Bedford, “The Neo-Assyrian Empire,” in *The Dynamics of Ancient Empires: State Power from Assyria to Byzantium*, ed. Ian Morris and Walter Scheidel, *Oxford Studies in Early Empires* 1 (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 30–65.

Neo-Assyrians exercised Dominion during the same era as the Israelite prophets, Anaximander, the author of the Upanishads, the Buddha, and Lao-tze.<sup>78</sup> More importantly, they reigned during a transition between the decline of cosmology and the rise of transcendence to dwell at the center of cognition. The Neo-Assyrians' relevance and significance to regnal sacrality appeared along three historical vectors. First, they concentrated and distilled the rich heritage of prior Mesopotamian civilizations, and they used that heritage as means of asserting their Authority. The Neo-Assyrians revered the past, granting scholars and religious experts work space and special privileges in the royal palaces.<sup>79</sup> Tiglath-Pileser III named one of his sons Sargon II both in homage to the Old Assyrian Sargon I, but also to the Akkadian Sargon the Great, instigator of the world's first empire.<sup>80</sup> Moreover, the Neo-Assyrians assembled one of the world's great libraries, the Library of Ashurbanipal.<sup>81</sup> Containing over thirty thousand tablets, and fragments of tablets, the Library provides access to not only Neo-Assyrian information, but to a wealth of earlier Mesopotamian texts, including yielding the extant source of the *Epic of Gilgamesh*.<sup>82</sup> This obsession with antiquity, of deriving Authority from

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<sup>78</sup> Karl Jaspers and Michael Bullock, *The Origin and Goal of History*, (London: Routledge Reprints, 2010), 75.

<sup>79</sup> Peter R. Bedford, "The Neo-Assyrian Empire," in *The Dynamics of Ancient Empires: State Power from Assyria to Byzantium*, ed. Ian Morris and Walter Scheidel, *Oxford Studies in Early Empires* 1 (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 37.

<sup>80</sup> Heather Streets-Salter and Trevor R. Getz, *Empires and Colonies in the Modern World: A Global Perspective* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 2.

<sup>81</sup> "British Museum - Ashurbanipal Library Phase 1," accessed March 10, 2017, [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/research\\_projects/all\\_current\\_projects/ashurbanipal\\_library\\_phase\\_1.aspx](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/research_projects/all_current_projects/ashurbanipal_library_phase_1.aspx).

<sup>82</sup> Atac, *The Mythology of Kingship in Neo-Assyrian Art*, 163.

both a divine source but also from a long historical tradition<sup>83</sup> proved by Evidence assembled in archives or libraries will become an important feature of both Christian and Islamic regnal sacrality.

Second, the Neo-Assyrian empire, existing amidst the swirling cultural and intellectual currents of the Axial Age, distributed its *zeitgeist* of regnal sacrality across its provinces and conquered lands. That *zeitgeist* spread through military conquest, but also through the texts preserved by the Assyrian kings, and by the architecture and artwork constructed and maintained in their royal palaces.<sup>84</sup> Mario Liverani argued that the written tablets and carved bas-reliefs demonstrated that:

The Assyrian kingship is the only one to legitimately exercise universal dominion, the Assyrian king “has no equal”. . . he is the only one endowed with those qualities which render legitimate the exercise of power, and for this reason he has been explicitly and carefully chosen by the gods. . . The correct link with the divine, besides yielding legitimacy, yields a highly emblematic element, “trust”. . . The Assyrian king, trusting in Assur (and in other Assyrian deities also), will surely prevail.<sup>85</sup>

The elements here enumerated by Liverani — the unique and sole possession of universal Dominion, the king’s supreme nature, the king’s endowments of superior qualities leading him to chosen by divine beings, the trust of the king in the integrity of the divine, leading to the inevitability of victory — all

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<sup>83</sup> Dale Launderville, *Piety and Politics: The Dynamics of Royal Authority in Homeric Greece, Biblical Israel, and Old Babylonian Mesopotamia* (Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans, 2003), 190.

<sup>84</sup> Atac, *The Mythology of Kingship in Neo-Assyrian Art*, 4.

<sup>85</sup> Mario Liverani, “The Ideology of the Assyrian Empire,” in *Power and Propaganda: A Symposium on Ancient Empires*, ed. Mogens Trolle Larsen, vol. 7, Mesopotamia: Copenhagen Studies in Assyriology (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1979), 310-311.

of these will be repeated and expanded by the cultures that partook of the Neo-Assyrian *zeitgeist*, among the first of whom are the Achaemenid Persians. The Cyrus Cylinder, the Persian propaganda-tale justifying their takeover specifically of Babylon and generally of the Neo-Assyrian Empire as a whole, drew heavily upon the Neo-Assyrian concepts of regnal sacrality.<sup>86</sup> Cyrus followed the formula sketched out by Liverani: Marduk<sup>87</sup> “took under his hand Cyrus, king of the city of Anshan, and called him by his name, proclaiming him aloud for the kingship over all of everything.”<sup>88</sup> Then, “Marduk, the great lord, who nurtures his people, saw with pleasure his fine deeds and true heart and ordered that he should go to Babylon.” Because Cyrus held superior qualities, Marduk qualifies him as king over all things, and sends Cyrus to Babylon. That claim of superiority, while not first expressed by the Neo-Assyrians, but widely disseminated by them, will arise again and again in the cultures that commanded suzerain over former Assyrian territory. The Persians passed on this meme of regnal sacrality to Alexander the Great, whose successors absorbed it and then transferred it to the Romans.<sup>89</sup> The Romans added their own twists to regnal sacrality, but they bequeathed the concept both to Western Europe, and also to the

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<sup>86</sup> “British Museum - The Cyrus Cylinder,” accessed March 10, 2017, [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=327188&partId=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=327188&partId=1).

<sup>87</sup> The patron deity of Babylon, signified by a spade.

<sup>88</sup> “British Museum - The Cyrus Cylinder.” Translation by Irving Finkel.

<sup>89</sup> The Romans take a long time for full penetration. The emperors do not assume the crown, the orb, or the scepter, all Assyrian/Persian/Sassanid symbols of kingship, until the reign of Domitian.

Nabatean kingdom. This method of transmission, by means of a general Neo-Assyrian *zeitgeist* throughout the Middle East, followed a murky and meandering path. No Byzantine emperor or Ottoman sultan declared admiration for the deeds of the Assyrian kings, or deliberately and overtly copied their style of governance. Not until the twentieth century did a political leader make those claims, with Saddam Hussein going so far as to sponsor American-style fashion shows based on Assyrian costume depicted in palace bas-reliefs.<sup>90</sup> However, a much more direct method of transmission existed, and Oakley, for all of his erudition, failed to address it.

Oakley did title chapter three as “Abrahamic Departures,”<sup>91</sup> but that nomenclature itself betrayed the lacunae. The Israelite/Hebrew conception of regnal sacrality received an excellent analysis, but it did so in isolation, within the scroll of the *Tanakh*<sup>92</sup> and specifically in isolation from the Neo-Assyrian roots from which much of the *Tanakh* sprung. Oakley stated that he is aware of “the great controversies”<sup>93</sup> surrounding the Documentary Hypothesis<sup>94</sup> and hence possible Neo-Assyrian connections, but instead of grappling with those issues, he insisted that “one has to recognize in the final narratives with which we are presented the ‘Priestly’ (post-exilic) conflation

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<sup>90</sup> Elaine Sciolino, *The Outlaw State: Saddam Hussein’s Quest for Power and the Gulf Crisis* (New York: Wiley, 1991), 51.

<sup>91</sup> Oakley, *Empty Bottles of Gentilism*, 40.

<sup>92</sup> The formal name for the Hebrew Bible, what Christians refer to as the Old Testament.

<sup>93</sup> Oakley, *Empty Bottles of Gentilism*, 42.

<sup>94</sup> The position, first articulated in the nineteenth century, that the books of the Hebrew Bible were not necessarily composed by their eponymous authors, but rather by a multiplicity of authors, either three or four, writing from various perspectives and with varying motives.

of disparate traditions.”<sup>95</sup> Oakley did not make clear why this recognition of admittedly false or simplified uniformity must be made. One possibility may be that Oakley is interested in the unity of the *Tanakh* as presented to the Latin Middle Ages, part of the title of his three-volume work. And this may have some validity; no clerical scholar in the thirteenth century was aware of Assyrians in any form, except that which Isaiah, Kings, and Chronicles presented them. It took the combined archaeology, paleography, and philology of the nineteenth century, particularly in Germany, but really throughout Europe, to tease out the Neo-Assyrian connections. In *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction*, David M. Carr contended:

that potential Neo-Assyrian influence on the Hebrew Bible is most evident in the broader framework of the pious royal historiography in 1-2 Kings. If the literary elites of Judah internalized Neo-Assyrian royal traditions in a Neo-Assyrian setting, this process was reflected in their composition of royal narratives and shaping narratives about life in the land leading up to that royal history.<sup>96</sup>

The *Tanakh* departed from its Mesopotamian origins in the first century CE, first to be the ur-text for Christianity, and then as part of the Christian canon, to influence the theology of Islam. To be clear, the heirs of Assyrian suzerainty, especially for this thesis the Habsburgs and Ottomans, did not consciously understand that their meta-narrative of regnal sacrality arose from a Neo-Assyrian context. Given Oakley’s omission of the Neo-Assyrian

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<sup>95</sup> Oakley, *Empty Bottles of Gentilism*, 42.

<sup>96</sup> David McLain Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 316-317.

influence on the *Tanakh*, he may have felt that the Neo-Assyrian connection did not provide insight into the *modus operandi* of later Western European sacral monarchs. The Neo-Assyrian meme-thread, tenuous in the *zeitgeist*, but much stronger in Abrahamic scripture provides critical illumination into how Christians and Muslims viewed regnal sacrality, how and why they fought each other, and how they interpreted divine will.



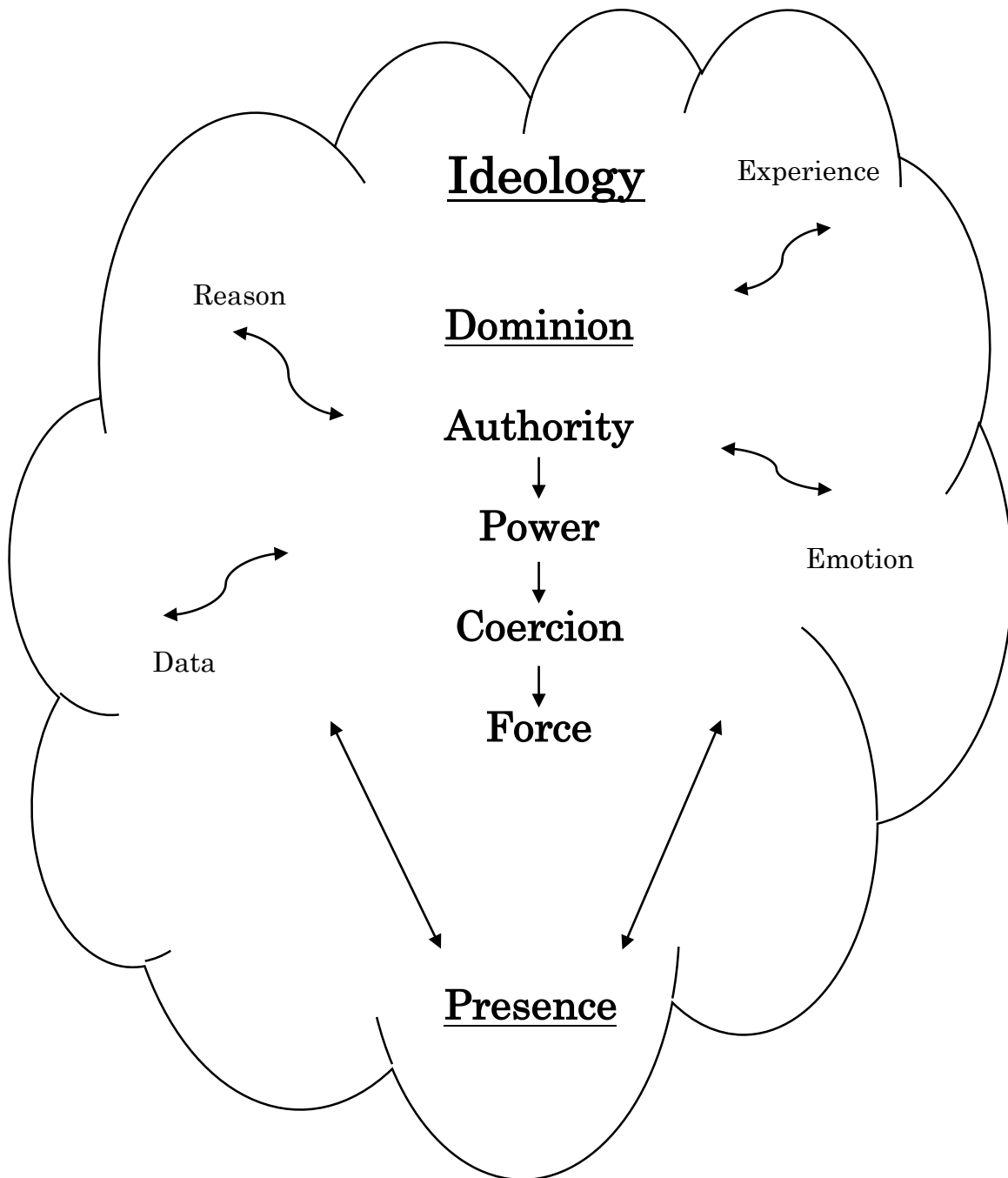


Figure 1 The Taxonomy of Dominion.

## CHAPTER III

### ROWING TOGETHER: THE RAMMING OF CULTURES AT LEPANTO

#### The Habsburgs

The phrase *Bella gerant alii, tu felix Austria nube* lacks clear provenance. Some accounts attribute it to Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary, while others locate it in the words of an anonymous monastic chronicler.<sup>97</sup> Either way, ‘Let others wage war, thou happy Austria marry’ reflects both a Habsburg quirk and a larger European *habitus* of regnal sacrality. If the king’s body possesses ritual significance, and if Authority and Power pass via biological inheritance, then the method of transference matters a great deal — in this case, sexual reproduction and the organization, ritualization, and monetization of it in the sacrament of royal marriage. Maximilian the First can claim the title of Habsburg marriage master, as he positioned his children and grandchildren to rule Europe, not by conquest but by the amalgamation of regnal territories dowered and received in marriage.<sup>98</sup> Maximilian’s grandson, Charles the Fifth, bore a list

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<sup>97</sup> Peter H. Wilson, *Heart of Europe: A History of the Holy Roman Empire*, First Harvard University Press edition, 2016 (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016), 419

<sup>98</sup> Pieter M. Judson, *The Habsburg Empire: A New History* (Cambridge, MA; London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016), 13.

of titles longer than his famously lengthy Habsburg jaw:

Charles, by the grace of God, Holy Roman Emperor, forever August, King of Germany, King of Italy, King of all Spains, of Castile, Aragon, León, of Hungary, of Dalmatia, of Croatia, Navarra, Grenada, Toledo, Valencia, Galicia, Majorca, Sevilla, Cordova, Murcia, Jaén, Algarves, Algeciras, Gibraltar, the Canary Islands, King of Two Sicilies, of Sardinia, Corsica, King of Jerusalem, King of the Western and Eastern Indies, of the Islands and Mainland of the Ocean Sea, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, Brabant, Lorraine, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Limburg, Luxembourg, Gelderland, Neopatria, Württemberg, Landgrave of Alsace, Prince of Swabia, Asturia and Catalonia, Count of Flanders, Habsburg, Tyrol, Gorizia, Barcelona, Artois, Burgundy Palatine, Hainaut, Holland, Seeland, Ferrette, Kyburg, Namur, Roussillon, Cerdagne, Drenthe, Zutphen, Margrave of the Holy Roman Empire, Burgau, Oristano and Gociano, Lord of Frisia, the Wendish March, Pordenone, Biscay, Molin, Salins, Tripoli and Mechelen.<sup>99</sup>

Indeed, the burden of regnal responsibility over this mosaic of peoples, lands, and cultures proved too much for Charles to bear; in 1554, he commenced divesting himself of his royal encumbrances, giving Spain to his son Philip the Second and the Holy Roman Empire to his brother Ferdinand.<sup>100</sup> He then retired to the monastery of St. Yuste, to endure the pain of his gout and dwell in rooms where clocks surmounted every wall, counting down the minutes of life.<sup>101</sup> Ferdinand took several years to Coerce the infamously fractious Holy Roman Empire into some semblance of orderly Dominion, so Philip II assumed the charge of defending the Mediterranean against the Ottomans. Philip functioned as a distillation of the best qualities of his father, and of the

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<sup>99</sup> William S. Maltby, *The Reign of Charles V* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave, 2002), 38.

<sup>100</sup> Maltby, *The Reign of Charles V*, 119.

<sup>101</sup> Jaume Ordi et al., "The Severe Gout of Holy Roman Emperor Charles V," *New England Journal of Medicine* 355, no. 5 (August 3, 2006): 517.

Habsburgs in general. More politically intelligent and more physically attractive than Charles V, he was if anything more pious, attending Mass often three times a day, though he would continue to hold council and sign state papers during the Elevation of the Host.<sup>102</sup> Philip lived abstemiously, adhering strictly to the designated fasts of the Church and abjuring mistresses, unlike his father. Though one of his father's illegitimate sons, Don Juan of Austria, would command the Holy League's fleet at Lepanto, Philip was always uncomfortable around his half-siblings; he loathed to be reminded of his father's weakness, especially in comparison to his own rigidly moral behavior.<sup>103</sup> Philip's chief fault lay in that very rigidity; once he conceived of a goal, or determined a course of action, none could dissuade him from it. He focused his brilliance on growing Spain ever more powerful, and keeping the rest of Europe ever more Catholic.<sup>104</sup> "I would rather lose all my lands and a hundred lives than be king over heretics," he declaimed to his courtiers.<sup>105</sup> Philip held himself as God's Agent on the earth, the means by which the divine will would be propagated and sustained.<sup>106</sup> That granite self-conception would not negotiate, equivocate, or mediate any diminishment or subordination of Philip's divinely appointed role, not until the greatest

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<sup>102</sup> Geoffrey Parker, *Imprudent King: A New Life of Philip II* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014), 63.

<sup>103</sup> Parker, *Imprudent King*, 67.

<sup>104</sup> Geoffrey Parker, *The Grand Strategy of Philip II* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 12.

<sup>105</sup> Luis Cabrera de Córdoba, José Martínez Millán, and Carlos Javier de Carlos Morales, *Historia de Felipe II, Rey de España* (Valladolid, Spain: Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Educación y Cultura, 1998), 212.

<sup>106</sup> Parker, *Imprudent King*, 68.

extremity. Failures, defeats and setbacks received acknowledgment as the will of God, or the vicissitudes of fate.<sup>107</sup> Even while acknowledging the papacy's Authority in spiritual affairs, Philip demanded Pope Pius V grant Spain control over the Holy League, both because of Spain's logistical contributions, but also because of Philip's conception of Spain as the most holy country, and himself as the most holy monarch, in all of Europe.<sup>108</sup> Philip spent his physical energy and Spain's burgeoning bullion in the maintenance and expansion of that sacred supremacy.

As sacral monarchs, the Habsburgs flourished in a regal greenhouse long tended by the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church. Francis Oakley's *The Emergence of Western Political Thought in the Latin Middle Ages* tracked the growing season. The political dissolution of the Western Roman Empire left the Church as the standard-bearer of Roman culture and Roman thought. The missionaries and bishops of the late fifth-century CE, in the spirit of 'render unto Caesar,'<sup>109</sup> enlarged upon a process begun some two centuries earlier, that of investing the chieftains and kings of the invading tribes with religious approbation.<sup>110</sup> In the centuries between Odovacar and Philip II, the Church transmuted the process from mere *de facto, ad hoc* leadership to *de jure, ad Deum* regnal sacrality. The kings and popes did not

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<sup>107</sup> Philip will say later about the Armada, "I sent my ships to fight the English, not the elements."

<sup>108</sup> Jack Beeching, *The Galleys at Lepanto*, First U.S. edition. (New York: Scribner, 1983), 123.

<sup>109</sup> Matthew 22:21, 'Ἀπόδοτε οὖν τὰ Καίσαρος Καίσαρι καὶ τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῷ Θεῷ'

<sup>110</sup> Chris Wickham, *The Inheritance of Rome: A History of Europe from 400 to 1000*, First U.S. edition, *The Penguin History of Europe* 2 (New York: Viking, 2009), 39.

make the transition between tribal custom and Roman law a smooth one. At some points, the popes prostrated themselves before kings, most famously at the 25 December 800 coronation of Charlemagne.<sup>111</sup> At other occasions, the kings awaited the pleasure of the popes in the snow, barefoot and clad in a hair shirt, in the case of the Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV appealing his excommunication to Pope Gregory VII at Canossa during the Investiture Controversy in 1077.<sup>112</sup> These two extremes reflected the constant balancing act trod by European sacral monarchs in the Middle Ages. On the one hand, a significant portion of a monarch's Authority, Power, and Coercive capacity depended on an alliance with the Church. Having the Church's backing made everything from collecting taxes to achieving a marriage alliance to asserting feudal claims easier.<sup>113</sup> On the other hand, kings could use their purely political powers to defy the clergy, as when Henry the Second of England declared into the ears of Edward Grim, "What miserable drones and traitors have I nourished and raised in my household, who let their lord be treated with such shameful contempt by a low-born cleric?"<sup>114</sup> By the time of Charles V and Philip II, the old conflicts of eleventh and twelfth century refreshed

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<sup>111</sup> Friedrich Kurze, ed. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*. (Hannover, 1895):112-113.

<sup>112</sup> H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII, 1073-1085* (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1998), 154.

<sup>113</sup> Most famously in Shakespeare, the Archbishops of York and Canterbury urge Henry V to claim France based on monastic records of genealogy and Salic law.

<sup>114</sup> Edward Grim, "Vita S. Thomae, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi et Martyris," in *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury (Canonized by Pope Alexander III, AD 1173) Volume 2*, ed. James Craigie Robertson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 72. Author's translation.

themselves in the Protestant Reformation. King Henry the Eighth of England felt his divine endowment sufficient to break from Rome, and declare himself Supreme Head of the Church of England, reuniting the roles that separated in the Western Church at the death of Romulus Augustulus. Francis Oakley noted that when Thomas Cranmer responded to Henry VIII's commentary on Cranmer's *Bishop's Book*, he "came perilously close to according the king the *potestas ordinis*, or priestly sacramental power,"<sup>115</sup> an action that would have made Henry more powerful in religious matters than any monarch since Constantine the Great.<sup>116</sup> Both Charles V and Philip II viewed England as the cesspit of the Reformation, far more dangerous than the squabbling Lutheran counts and margraves of Germany, precisely because the English divorce from Rome was initiated by a prince; a prince like them, anointed, crowned, and shriven by the Roman Catholic Church, a papal-named Defender of the Faith, and sponsor of cardinals, but who then rejected that oath, anointing, and forgiveness to sit in open revolt against the Vicar of Christ. Philip II, in particular, believed that Lutheranism and its assorted bedfellows would eventually be brought to heel; he was far less prosaic about the chances for reconverting England, though he marshalled every possible resource to do so.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> Oakley, *The Watershed of Modern Politics*, 156-157.

<sup>116</sup> Caesaropapism endured in the East, at least technically, until the dissolution of the Byzantine Empire. Functionally, it ended a century or so before 1453, as various Eastern patriarchs found that they preferred the stability of Ottoman rule to the vagaries of the Byzantine court and the ever-changing dynasties and emperors.

<sup>117</sup> Parker, *The Grand Strategy of Philip II*, 295. This would include both his actual marriage to Mary Tudor, his several refused proposals to Elizabeth Tudor, and the Armada.

Having given a brief summary of the Habsburgs and their position as sacral monarchs, they can now be analyzed in terms of the Taxonomy. Since Philip II reigned during 1571, he will represent the dynasty:

‘Philip derived his Authority from God via his anointing by the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church. He inherited the Power of his father’s bureaucracy, army and navy, and attempted to Coerce sundry Mexica, Inca, Italians, Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese and English into submitting to his Dominion. Some of these did acquiesce, and some of these did not surrender, and Philip unleashed Force upon them. Whether that Force succeeded or failed, in all things he gave glory to God and Saint James of Compostela.’

The final piece of analysis to be applied to the Habsburgs must be their subjugation of other sacral monarchs, particularly ones not historically familiar to the sixteenth-century European experience. The first monarch to perish under Habsburg captivity, Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin, the ninth *tlatoani* of Tenochtitlan, died by stoning at the hands of his own people on 1 June, 1520, in a moment of neglect by his Spanish guards.<sup>118</sup> The second, Atawallpa the Sapa Inca, died by garrote on 26 July 1533, accused of various crimes and misdemeanors against God and Spain.<sup>119</sup> The conquests of New Spain and New Granada, respectively, reinvigorated an idea that had declined in Europe since the thirteenth century, but never entirely went

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<sup>118</sup> Bernal Díaz del Castillo and J. M. Cohen, *The Conquest of New Spain*, Nachdr., Penguin Classics (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 294.

<sup>119</sup> Tito Cusi Yupanqui and Ralph Bauer, *An Inca Account of the Conquest of Peru* (Boulder, CO: University of Colorado Press, 2005), 86.



away — the meta-narrative of *Reconquista*. To be clear, *many* other historical forces, besides the habitus of *Reconquista*, brought about the Spanish realization of continents and islands of the Western Hemisphere. In respect to Mexico and Peru, the personal economic motives of the Hernan Cortez or Francisco Pizzaro, cannot be dismissed. Both came from the beggared province of Estremadura, wracked by centuries of *Reconquista*; the desire for personal wealth, and the sacred warfare used to obtain it, wafted all around in the heat-shimmered air of their birthplace. Thus, the idea of *Reconquista*, the Iberian brother to the idea of Crusade, deserves rapt consideration in terms of the conquest and imposition of Iberian Authority on Native American polities.

Even Christopher Columbus recorded in his journal or *Diario* of his first transatlantic voyage that he wanted to find sufficient wealth: “in such quantity that the sovereigns. . .will undertake and prepare to go conquer the Holy Sepulchre; for thus I urged Your Highnesses to spend all of the profits of this my enterprise on the conquest of Jerusalem.”<sup>120</sup> The first impetus to acquire wealth from the Indies is to begin another crusade. While the Caribbean, Central and South America did not contain the specific riches of Cathay or Cipanguo, Columbus’ desire for war with the Ottomans transferred easily to native conversion and repression, which could be used to extract the

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<sup>120</sup> Cristopher Colombo and Bartolomé de las Casas, *The Diario of Christopher Columbus’s First Voyage to America, 1492 - 1493, The American Exploration and Travel Series* (Norman, OK.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), 291. Similar thoughts can be found in Columbus’s *Book of Prophecy*.

resources the Americas did possess. Daniel Arbino and Matthew Arnold have argued that the epicenter of the Prester John phenomenon in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries lay in the Iberian Peninsula, “Prester John remained in the imaginary of Christopher Columbus, Hernan Cortez, and Francisco Pizzaro as they set out to explore and conquer by transplanting Western legends. . . through the manipulation of indigenous cosmovisions.”<sup>121</sup> Arnold and Arbino contended further that the Iberian experience of the *Reconquista* in particular, and crusading in general, allowed them to twist the native ideas of Quetzalcoatl for the Mexica and Viracocha for the Inca, into a Coercive factor for Spanish Dominion in the Americas.<sup>122</sup> The awareness of the legend of Prester John and the crusading background challenged:

the age-old notion that the Spaniards luckily stumbled upon a convenient return legend, when in fact it was their brutality and technology that led to their success. The return myth was added at a later date to fortify their claims to regions laden with gold and other jewels. Quite simply, the Spaniards, unable to locate in their search what Jacques Derrida calls “the transcendental signified,” or a point of reference that would provide an ultimate center of meaning imposed their own to place themselves as rightful inheritors of riches. They rewrote history in the process.<sup>123</sup>

When the Ethiopian kings failed to match their vision of Prester John, the Spanish Habsburgs simply imposed a corrupted version of him upon the native discourses of the Americas, the better to serve their resource

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<sup>121</sup> Daniel Arbino and Michael Arnold, “Conquests of the Imagination: The Manipulation of Myth in Iberian Conquest Literatures,” *Nomenclatura: Aproximaciones a Los Estudios Hispánicos*, Spring/Primavera 2012, 1.

<sup>122</sup> Arbino and Arnold, “Conquests of the Imagination,” 7. Coercion and Dominion are the author’s terms, not Arbino’s and Arnold’s.

<sup>123</sup> Arbino and Arnold, “Conquests of the Imagination,” 8.

extraction, which would be needed to fund their coming clash with the Ottomans.

### The Ottomans

Concerning the House of Osman, it may also be said that they enjoyed marriage, but rather in the matter of quantity and quality of wives rather than the dowries the women brought with them to the nuptial bed. War, not love, drove the engine of the Ottoman Empire; conquest fattened its coffers, and victory legitimized its monarchs. The incitement for doing so may be traced, with a fair degree of skepticism concerning an apocryphal myth, to the infancy of the dynasty, and in the relationship between Osman I and Sheikh Edebali, a dervish. One fateful night Osman dreamed that:

He saw that a moon arose from the holy man's breast and came to sink in his own breast. A tree then sprouted from his navel and its shade compassed the world. Beneath this shade there were mountains, and streams flowed forth from the foot of each mountain. Some people drank from these running waters, others watered gardens, while yet others caused fountains to flow. When Osman awoke, he told the story to the holy man, who said 'Osman, my son, congratulations, for God has given the imperial office to you and your descendants and my daughter Malhun shall be your wife.'<sup>124</sup>

Osman's dream becomes both a title of a twenty-first-century monograph,<sup>125</sup> and a source of Authority for Ottoman expansion. That Authority derives

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<sup>124</sup> Rudi Paul Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia* (Richmond: Curzon, 1997), 37. Lindner's translation from the Chronicle of Aşıkpaşazade. Scholars of Ottoman origins view The Chronicle of Aşıkpaşazade as a foundation-myth, rather than a record of eye-witnessed events.

<sup>125</sup> Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dream: The Story of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1923* (New York: Basic Books, 2007).

from marrying the saint's daughter, rather than the blessing of the traditional Sunni religious scholars, thus portending the seven-hundred-year tensions between scholarly and saintly Islam. Indeed, during the fifteenth century, the Ottomans moved Edebalı's shrine closer to Istanbul, so that each new sultan could make a pilgrimage to the saint's tomb, as a mark of legitimate Authority, rather than relying upon the oath of loyalty, or *bay'a*, from the community of religious scholars.<sup>126</sup> But even given the aesthetic harmony and religious importance of Osman's dream, achieving it required endless warfare, particularly upon the accession of a new sultan. For Suleiman, known as 'the Magnificent' in Europe and 'the Lawgiver' among Muslims, ruling the Sublime Porte meant the conquest of Belgrade on 28 August 1521, followed by a string of martial victories across his long reign.<sup>127</sup> In all history, Suleiman admired no one more than Alexander the Great, and deliberately sought to emulate him, going to the point of commissioning a helmet-crown that at once mimicked Alexander's diadem and mocked the papal tiara.<sup>128</sup> When Suleiman's son Selim II became Padishah, rather than going on campaign like his father he directed his ministers to make war upon the Venetians in Cyprus. The conquest of Cyprus, which became the proximate *casus belli* for the Holy League, would allow Selim II to continue to

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<sup>126</sup> Ahmed Akgündüz and Said Öztürk, *Ottoman History: Misperceptions and Truths* (Rotterdam: IUR Press, 2011), 45-46.

<sup>127</sup> Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1650: The Structure of Power* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 49.

<sup>128</sup> Andrew Wheatcroft, "Islam's Final Push: The Ottomans versus the Habsburgs," in *Great Strategic Rivalries: From the Classical World to the Cold War*, ed. James Lacey (Oxford University Press, 2016), 238.

indulge his pleasures, which support of the more politically expedient Morisco Revolt would not.<sup>129</sup> Selim earned the less regal eponym of ‘the Sot’ among both European and Islamic historians, though occasionally he is allowed ‘the Blond’ in reference to the hair color inherited from his mother Hurrem.<sup>130</sup> While Selim II held the Authority, Mehmed Sokollu the Grand Vizier exercised the Power and manipulated the Coercion for most of the inebriated sultan’s reign. But Selim could drunkenly bumble into Sokollu’s plans, with the invasion of Cyprus and the expedition to Lepanto being chief among them. Sokollu wished to support the Moriscos, and he desired rapprochement with the Venetians. In both respects, Selim overruled him, viewing the Cyprus war as central to his pursuit of pleasure. Lorenzo Bernardo reported to the Venetian Senate in 1570:

Sultan Selim initiated the following opinion: That the true felicity of a king or emperor did not consist of military toils and in operations of bravery or glory, but in idleness and tranquility of the senses, in the enjoyment of all comforts and pleasures in palaces filled with women and buffoons, and in the fulfilment of all desires for jewels, palaces, loggias, and stately constructions.<sup>131</sup>

The reign of Selim II marks the transition from the Sultan on horseback to the so-called Sultanate of Women, when the wives and concubines of the

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<sup>129</sup> John Patrick Douglas Balfour Kinross, *The Ottoman Centuries: The Rise and Fall of the Turkish Empire*, Morrow Quill Paperbacks (New York, 1979), 279.

<sup>130</sup> André Clot and Matthew Reisz, *Suleiman the Magnificent* (London: Saqi, 2012), 70.

<sup>131</sup> John Freely, *Inside the Seraglio: Private Lives of the Sultans in Istanbul*, (London: I.B. Tauris, Kindle edition 2016), location 55.

harem started to command a more overtly political role in governing the empire.<sup>132</sup>

But before the harem made its thrust for power, the men of the House of Osman governed an empire that, in the sixteenth century, possessed greater sources of troops, munitions, and revenues than any other polity in Europe. Being Muslim, they did not conceive of their authority along Christian models, but within the Islamic tradition. Aziz al-‘Azma pointed to the three sources of that tradition: a “Persian legacy” mixed with Greek philosophy and the Muslim canon.<sup>133</sup> Both indirectly through that Persian legacy, and more directly through the Muslim canon, Muslim ideas about kingship would be influenced by Neo-Assyrian ones.<sup>134</sup> The most important figure in Islamic regnal sacrality: the caliph, a term adapted from the Arabic phrase, *khalifat rasul Allah*, and meaning ‘successor of the messenger of God’ or ‘messenger selected by God.’<sup>135</sup> The word appeared in multiple places within the Quran — in the second surah, verse thirty in reference to Adam: “I am placing a vicegerent upon the earth,”<sup>136</sup> and also in the thirty-eighth surah addressing King David.<sup>137</sup> Third, and most relevantly, in the twenty-fourth surah, the ‘Istikhlaf Verse’:

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<sup>132</sup> Freely, *Inside the Seraglio*, location 1006.

<sup>133</sup> Aziz al-‘Azma, *Muslim Kingship: Power and the Sacred in Muslim, Christian, and Pagan Polities* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1997), 28.

<sup>134</sup> ‘Azma, *Muslim Kingship*, 11.

<sup>135</sup> Hugh Kennedy, *Caliphate: The History of an Idea*, First edition (New York: Basic Books, 2016), 4.

<sup>136</sup> Seyyed Hossein Nasr, ed., *The Study Quran: A New Translation and Commentary*, First edition (New York: HarperOne, an imprint of Collins Publishers, 2015), 2.30.

<sup>137</sup> Nasr, *The Study Quran*, 38.26

God has promised those among you who believe and perform righteous deeds that He will surely make them vicegerents upon the earth, as He cause those before them to be vicegerents, and that He will establish for them their religion, which He has approved for them, and that He will surely change them from a state of fear to [one of] security. They will worship me, not ascribing any partners unto Me. And whoever disbelieves thereafter, it is they who are iniquitous.<sup>138</sup>

One interpretation of the verse makes all humans caliphs, vicegerents of Allah, but many commentators, going back several centuries, traced the justification for a more exclusive caliph and caliphate to this verse, as it assures the righteous of protection, security and Dominion over others.<sup>139</sup> Thus by very definition the caliph must be righteous, an issue that does not first arise with the reign of Selim but which is perhaps amplified by him. The caliph functions as “God’s shadow on earth,”<sup>140</sup> the repository of all Justice and Allah’s executor.<sup>141</sup> Because the caliph contains all wisdom and judgment, he must be obeyed. The power of the caliph receives balance in the rulings of the *ulama*, the Muslim legal scholars who act as a check against unrestrained tyranny on the part of the caliph. In the Ottoman era, the *ulama* served as an important part of government, guiding and approving, or disapproving of the sultan’s governance.<sup>142</sup> But the sultans also venerated saints, and saints’ tombs, as a counterweight to the Power of the religious class. While the concept of caliph does not quite approach the Hindu notion of an *avatar*, it

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<sup>138</sup> Nasr, *The Study Quran*, 24.56.

<sup>139</sup> ‘Azma, *Muslim Kingship*, 155.

<sup>140</sup> ‘Azma, *Muslim Kingship*, 74.

<sup>141</sup> ‘Azma, *Muslim Kingship*, 75.

<sup>142</sup> Jonathan Brown, *Misquoting Muhammad: The Challenge and Choices of Interpreting the Prophet’s Legacy* (London: Oneworld, 2014), 46.

comes close.<sup>143</sup> al-‘Azma did not clarify whether the office of caliph sanctifies the holder thereof, or whether the holder sanctifies the office. Perhaps ideally, it would work both ways. But this conception of the caliph as Allah’s djinn-lamp of good things<sup>144</sup> meant that those who sought to maneuver around him needed to do so with discretion and tact. Sokollu was mostly effective at gently manipulating and working around Selim II, except when it came to the Cyprus war, and its climax at Lepanto.<sup>145</sup>

Having run through a brief survey of Ottoman regnal sacrality in the context of Muslim kingship, they can now be analyzed in terms of the Taxonomy. Since Selim the Sot reigned during 1571, he will represent the dynasty: ‘Selim derived his Authority from Allah by reason of his father’s position as caliph, the allegiance of the *ulama*, and the regard given to saintly descent.<sup>146</sup> He inherited the Power of Suleiman’s bureaucracy, army and navy, and attempted to Coerce sundry Venetians, Cypriots, Greeks, Spanish, Portuguese, and Sumatrans into submitting to his Dominion. Some of these did acknowledge his Dominion, and some of these did not submit, and Selim II, through his Grand Vizier Sokollu, unleashed Force upon them. Whether

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<sup>143</sup> ‘Azma, *Muslim Kingship*, 7.

<sup>144</sup> A possible reference in the *Thousand and One Nights* to Pandora’s box, ἀλλὰ γυνὴ χεῖρεςσι πίθου μέγα πῶμ’ ἀφελοῦσα ἐσκέδασ’· ἀνθρώποισι δ’ ἐμήσατο κῆδεα λυγρὰ. Hesiod, *Works and Days* 94-95. The concept of djinn maintains the Greek idea of the moral ambivalence of supernatural beings.

<sup>145</sup> Roger Crowley, *Empires of the Sea: The Siege of Malta, the Battle of Lepanto, and the Contest for the Center of the World*, First U.S. edition (New York: Random House, 2008), 234.

<sup>146</sup> The Authority of the Sultans combined the broad appeal of being the Commander of the Faithful, the imprint of holiness by association with saints, and the juridical approval of the religious scholars; in all, a potent alchemical brew designed to confer legitimacy.



that Force succeeded or failed, in all things he goes back to his harem, his Cypriot wine and his bathhouse, the combination of which killed him on 12 December 1574.<sup>147</sup>

In like similarity to the Habsburgs, the Ottomans claimed to be preeminent among a number of co-religionists, with indirect challengers to their supremacy in the Safavid shahs of Iran and the Mughal emperors of India. The Mughals traced their regnal sacrality back to the reign of Timur, the ‘Lord of Conjunction’ or *Sahib Qiran*, a title comparable to that of caliph, but drawing on a Persian source,<sup>148</sup> while the Safavids claimed their legitimacy through the Shia-acknowledged line of Fatima and Ali. The Ottomans did not have a colonial experience with non-Muslims, in a similar sense to what the Spanish Habsburgs did in the new world, but nevertheless their interactions with other Muslims refined their own sense of regnal sacrality, and their superiority in deploying it. While the House of Osman first claimed the title of caliph starting with Murad I in 1362,<sup>149</sup> no sultan used the title in an official manner<sup>150</sup> until after Selim I<sup>151</sup> defeated the

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<sup>147</sup> Freely, *Inside the Seraglio*, location 1114. Selim died from a fall in his *hamamm* while drunk, having just left his former wet-nurse, with whom he enjoyed playing chess.

<sup>148</sup> A. Azfar Moin, *The Millennial Sovereign: Sacred Kingship and Sainthood in Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 24.

<sup>149</sup> P. M. Holt, ed., *The Cambridge History of Islam: [In Four Volumes]. Vol. 2, B: Islamic Society and Civilization*, Reprinted (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 320.

<sup>150</sup> While Selim I did usurp the title of caliph, no Ottoman sultan used it in any sort of formal way or in any official proclamation, coinage, or treaty until the latter half of the eighteenth century.

<sup>151</sup> Suleiman’s father, Selim II’s grandfather and namesake.

Mamluks in 1517, and brought the last Abbasid caliph to Istanbul.<sup>152</sup> The Safavids made their own claims to sacral monarch as followers of the Shia branch of Islam, but part of the Mughal drive to assume the Lords of Conjunction title came from an envy of the Ottoman claim to the caliphate.<sup>153</sup> Even Muslim rulers from as far away as Aceh on the island of Sumatra petitioned Suleiman as the caliph of the *Dar al-Islam* in 1564 for aid against the encroaching Portuguese, help he was happy to give, culminating in the expedition of six ships under Kurtoğlu Hizir Reis.<sup>154</sup> The Aceh expedition merely served to further cement Suleiman's position as the supreme Muslim in the world, coming at the end of a long string of campaigns that saw the Ottomans in control of both sides of the Red Sea, and fully capable of contesting the Portuguese for control of the Indian Ocean.<sup>155</sup> Suleiman bequeathed to Selim an empire that stretched from the Pillars of Hercules to the Gulf of Aden, with all the economic might in between. That incredible capacity to absorb reckless military expenditures would become vital to Ottoman imperial survival after Lepanto.

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<sup>152</sup> Stephan Connerman and Gül Şen, *Mamluk-Ottoman Transition: Continuity and Change in Egypt and Bild Al-Shm in the Sixteenth Century*. (Göttingen: V & R Unipress., 2016), 129.

<sup>153</sup> Moin, *The Millennial Sovereign*, 25.

<sup>154</sup> Clot and Reisz, *Suleiman the Magnificent*, 237.

<sup>155</sup> Noel Malcolm, *Agents of Empire: Knights, Corsairs, Jesuits and Spies in the Sixteenth-Century Mediterranean World* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 102.

Rowing Toward Doom — The Prelude and The Clash

The final inheritance of Suleiman to Selim II provided a prestige different from an empire — Suleiman passed on to his son the European conception of himself as the ‘Grand Turk.’ The image of the Grand Turk predates both Suleiman and Selim II by four centuries, though the idea truly coalesced in the two hundred years prior to Suleiman and Selim II. The title of Grand Turk functions in European discourse as method of othering, or in the tradition of Edward Said, orientalizing the chief Islamic ruler in conflict with Christendom. Pope Urban II’s call to the First Crusade did not grant the Arab-Turkish rulers of Palestine even that much respect:

Wherefore, with earnest prayer, I, not I, but God exhorts you as heralds of Christ to repeatedly urge men of all ranks whatsoever, knights as well as foot-soldiers, rich and poor, to hasten to exterminate this vile race from our lands, and to aid the Christian inhabitants in time.<sup>156</sup>

Foucher’s account of Urban II’s oration lumps the Islamic occupants of the Levant together as one “vile race.” With the fluctuating success and failure of the Crusading impulse, the Islamic enemy slowly morphed away from a faceless horde, to a faceless horde led by a single person, the Grand Turk. The figure of Saladin<sup>157</sup> began the process of incremental humanization, as Saladin appears as the first Islamic leader to whom the European commentators accorded a modicum of respect as a worthy and noble

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<sup>156</sup> Foucher de Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095-1127* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1972), 66.

<sup>157</sup> As opposed to the actual person of Saladin. European myth-making, at work again.

adversary.<sup>158</sup> But the title of Grand Turk first most fully formed around the reputation of Timur, known in Europe as Tamerlane. Europeans felt that Timur fused together the terror of the Mongols with the cunning of the Turks and the culture of the Arabs.<sup>159</sup> Moreover, his meteoric rise to an imperial Presence far out-stripped the speed of previous Islamic efforts against the Europeans. Both the writers of Christian Europe and the chroniclers of Central Asia mythologized Timur after his death. In Central Asia, these took the form of apocryphal biographies,<sup>160</sup> while the European literature may be epitomized by Christopher Marlowe's *Tamburlaine the Great*.<sup>161</sup> In the latter work, Timur starts as a shepherd who, through cleverness and treachery, forms himself into the 'Scourge of God', another European othering-title.<sup>162</sup> The threat of Timur, both imagined and real, focused both European hostility and diplomacy on to the one Presence that symbolizes the myriads of militant Islam. Unlike the Mughals, the Ottomans could not claim physical descent from Timur, but they assumed his metaphorical position as the Grand Turk, and enforced the metaphor through a series of conquest of European hallmarks, of which the 1453 siege and sack of Constantinople appears as the

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<sup>158</sup> Peter O'Brien, *European Perceptions of Islam and America from Saladin to George W. Bush: Europe's Fragile Ego Uncovered* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 53.

<sup>159</sup> Justin Marozzi, *Tamerlane: Sword of Islam, Conqueror of the World* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2006), 412.

<sup>160</sup> Ron Sela, *The Legendary Biographies of Tamerlane: Islam and Heroic Apocrypha in Central Asia*, Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 3.

<sup>161</sup> Christopher Marlowe and Irving Ribner, *Christopher Marlowe's Tamburlaine, Part One and Part Two: Text and Major Criticism* (Indianapolis: Odyssey Press, 1974), 3.

<sup>162</sup> Marlowe and Ribner, *Christopher Marlowe's Tamburlaine*, 62.

most famous. By the middle of the sixteenth century, in the build-up to Lepanto, the European obsession with the personality, plans, and performances of the Grand Turk necessitated diplomatic surveillance and reporting back to both Venice and Spain.<sup>163</sup> That the Grand Turk would attack Christian polities in the Mediterranean simply meant that he was the Grand Turk;<sup>164</sup> the Venetian embassy spied, cajoled, bribed, and bargained to find out where the blows would land. As they discovered towards the end of the 1560s, the Ottomans would target his mandated conquest at the island of Cyprus.

Three possible motives may explain the Ottoman efforts expended for the conquest of Cyprus. First, Selim the Sot may have desired Cyprus to satisfy his rapaciously oenophilic palate.<sup>165</sup> Second, a flintier motive appeared in the machinations of Joseph Nassi.<sup>166</sup> A Marrano from Portugal, he escaped the Inquisition and ended up at the Ottoman court. After first attempting to form a Jewish community around the Sea of Galilee in 1561, a settlement that would be dedicated to the study of the Kabballah, he returned to the Topkapi palace and became Selim's close confidante.<sup>167</sup> Selim made Nassi

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<sup>163</sup> O'Brien, *European Perceptions of Islam and America from Saladin to George W. Bush: Europe's Fragile Ego Uncovered*, 74.

<sup>164</sup> Wherein the 'Grand Turk' operates as code for the whole Ottoman military/political/cultural apparatus.

<sup>165</sup> Kinross, *The Ottoman Centuries*, 166.

<sup>166</sup> Freely, *Inside the Seraglio*, location 1084.

<sup>167</sup> Eric Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople: Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, Johns Hopkins Paperback edition, *The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, 124th series. (2006), 2 (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 107.

Duke of the Archipelago, a Venetian title for the suzerainty of Cyclades islands, and newly vacated by them in 1566. Nassi urged Selim to conquer Cyprus in part to provide an area for Jewish settlement after the failures at Tiberias and Safed.<sup>168</sup> While the above two causes for war may have influenced Selim, the third and most direct cause arose in the fire at the Arsenal in Venice in 1569. Though not as damaging as Selim believed, the fire did lead him to ask the Mufti Ebu Suud if “it was the duty of a Muslim ruler to recover lands that were once in Muslim hands but which had since fallen to the infidel.”<sup>169</sup> Upon receiving an answer in the affirmative, Selim declared war in 1570. Piyale Pasha and Müezzinzade Ali Pasha commanded a combined Ottoman fleet of some four hundred ships, and Lala Mustafa Pasha led an army of eighty thousand.<sup>170</sup> The conquest went swiftly, as large-island invasions go, until the Ottoman forces came to the fortress-town of Famagusta, the last remaining bastion of the Venetian Republic on the island. For eleven months, Marco Antonio Bragadin and sixty-five-hundred Venetian troops and Cypriot mercenaries held out against an army that rose to number some two hundred thousand Ottomans.<sup>171</sup> But the town could not hold without support, and terms of surrender were reached on 4 August, 1571. Bragadin went to Lala Mustafa Pasha’s campaign tent to formally

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<sup>168</sup> Stavros Panteli, *Place of Refuge: A History of the Jews in Cyprus*, First edition (London: Elliott & Thompson, 2003), 149.

<sup>169</sup> Angus Konstam and Tony Bryan, *Lepanto 1571: The Greatest Naval Battle of the Renaissance*, Campaign 114 (Oxford: Osprey, 2003), 34.

<sup>170</sup> Stephen R. Turnbull, *The Ottoman Empire, 1326-1699*, Essential Histories 62 (Oxford: Osprey, 2003), 57.

<sup>171</sup> Konstam and Bryan, *Lepanto 1571*, 45.

surrender. Turkish and Venetian sources disagree about what precisely transpired, with the Venetian accounts indicating that Lala Mustafa craved revenge for an eleven-month siege, while Ali Efendi stated that Bragadin had deliberately tortured and killed a number of pilgrims going on *hajj*.<sup>172</sup> Whatever the cause, Bragadin and his lieutenants were forcibly restrained, and Bragadin was forced to watch as the Janissaries removed the heads of his subordinates. Bragadin then lost his ears and his nose, and was compelled to carry dirt around the walls of Famagusta, in mock of the earthworks the Venetians had thrown up around the town as a last defensive measure and in parody of the stubborn donkey the Turks imagined him as.<sup>173</sup> Upon Bragadin's refusal to convert to Islam, and after enduring several more days of torment as infection seethed in his maimed face, Lala Mustafa ordered him tied to a pillar in the Famagusta marketplace, and commanded a Jewish butcher to flay him alive.<sup>174</sup> "Bragadin's hide was pickled, stuffed with straw, clad in its owner's crimson robes and carried through the town on top of an ox, preceded by a Turk carrying a parasol."<sup>175</sup> Lala Mustafa sent the crude taxidermy back to Constantinople, where it remained until a Venetian sailor pilfered it from the arsenal, and took it back for burial with full state honors in Venice.<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> Crowley, *Empires of the Sea*, 239.

<sup>173</sup> Niccolo Capponi, *Victory of the West: The Great Christian-Muslim Clash at the Battle of Lepanto*. (New York: Da Capo, 2008), 234.

<sup>174</sup> Crowley, *Empires of the Sea*, 240.

<sup>175</sup> Capponi, *Victory of the West*, 236.

<sup>176</sup> David Abulafia, *The Great Sea: A Human History of the Mediterranean* (London: Penguin Books, 2012), 449.

As Lala Mustafa marched around Cyprus, Pope Pius V scurried like the bearded ferret he resembled to put some sort of resistance together. Although the Ottomans routinely moved about in the Eastern Mediterranean Sea while supporting Algerian and Tunisian piracy in the west, Pius V divined something different this time from the usual shenanigans of the Grand Turk.<sup>177</sup> Pius made a direct appeal to the feuding Italian city-states, and to Philip II to abandon their differences and unite against a common foe. Significantly, he granted Philip access to the *cruzada*, the funds controlled by the papacy for use in the next crusade.<sup>178</sup> Philip assented with the provision that his illegitimate half-brother, Don Juan of Austria, commanded the combined task force. Under the howls of protest from the Genoese and the Venetians, Pius agreed.<sup>179</sup> The expedition would be provided with the most potent religious symbols that could be assembled. On the fourteenth of August, 1571 Don Juan received his staff as captain-general and the sacred blue banner of the league, bearing an image of Christ on the Cross and the Virgin Mary. In conferring the emblems of command, Cardinal Grenville intoned, "Take, fortunate prince, take these symbols of the true faith, and may they give thee a glorious victory over our impious enemy, and by thy hand may his pride be laid low."<sup>180</sup> Don Juan had been invested with the most

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<sup>177</sup> Malcolm, *Agents of Empire*, 110-111.

<sup>178</sup> Beeching, *The Galleys at Lepanto*, 167.

<sup>179</sup> Augusta Theodosia Drane, *The Knights of St. John: With the Battle of Lepanto and Siege of Vienna*. (London: Burns and Lambert, 1858), 156.

<sup>180</sup> Crowley, *Empires of the Sea*, 236.



potent symbols of Dominion the papacy could muster. But he was not the only beneficiary of holy tokens.

Of all the Catholic factions that combined prior to Lepanto, the Genoese, though allied to the Spanish, remained profoundly resentful and distrusting of the Venetians, and of the Holy League in general. Andrea Doria of Genoa once led the chief Christian naval operations against the Muslims on both sides of the Mediterranean, and against the traditional enemy of Genoa, Venice.<sup>181</sup> Now too old to put out to sea, he gave command of the Genoese contingent to his grandson, Giovanni Andrea Doria, also known as Gian'Andrea Doria. Gian'Andrea departed Genoa with his ears full of his grandfather's advice, and a gift from Philip II in his cabin. News of a holy incident had made its way to Philip's court, along with evidence of an apparition. On the ninth December, 1531, a Nahuatl peasant named Juan Diego saw a vision of a young woman on a hill called Tepeyac near his home.<sup>182</sup> He would see her several more times in the next few days, culminating in an instruction to gather the Castilian roses that had miraculously grown on Tepeyac into his *tilma*, or cloak. Upon presenting himself to the archbishop Juan de Zumárraga, Juan Diego unfolded the cloak to reveal an image of the Virgin Mary, what would become the image of the

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<sup>181</sup> John Francis Guilmartin, *Gunpowder & Galleys: Changing Technology & Mediterranean Warfare at Sea in the 16th Century*, Rev. edition (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2003), 138.

<sup>182</sup> Gabriel de Talavera, *Historia de Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe*, ed. de Guzman, Tomas, 1597th ed., accessed April 3, 2017, [https://books.google.es/books?id=RyNSAAAACAAJ&pg=PP5&hl=es&source=gbs\\_selected\\_pages&cad=2#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.es/books?id=RyNSAAAACAAJ&pg=PP5&hl=es&source=gbs_selected_pages&cad=2#v=onepage&q&f=false), 14.

Virgin of Guadalupe. Archbishop de Zumárraga had five copies of the image made, touched them all to the original *tilma*, and then sent two copies back to Spain, one of which Philip II gave to Gian'Andrea Doria, as a gesture of trust and respect.<sup>183</sup> Gian'Andrea Doria would pray the Rosary in front of the image before the battle, a fact which he later recalled to Pius V.<sup>184</sup> The presence of the Virgin of Guadalupe at Lepanto highlighted the reach and connectivity of Spain's world empire, but also the desperation the Christians felt. Juan Diego's tale would not be officially affirmed by the Roman Catholic Church until the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>185</sup> Philip II sent Gian'Andrea Doria off with what, at the time, could only be conceived of as an image to aid private devotion, not yet a relic of the Virgin. In contrast, Müezzinzade Ali Pasha's sacral investiture possessed less long-term drama, but stood just as impressive at the time. Selim granted him the Banner of the Caliphs, a massive flag slightly larger than Don Juan's great banner, resplendent in green with 28,900 names of Allah intertwined in gold thread, and emblazoned with the double-edged sword of Muhammed.<sup>186</sup> Captured as booty after the battle, it remained in the hands of the Holy See until Pope Paul VI

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<sup>183</sup> Amy G. Remensnyder, *La Conquistadora: The Virgin Mary at War and Peace in the Old and the New Worlds* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 301.

<sup>184</sup> G. K. Chesterton and Dale Ahlquist, *Lepanto*, First edition (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2004), 29.

<sup>185</sup> D. A. Brading, *Mexican Phoenix: Our Lady of Guadalupe: Image and Tradition across Five Centuries* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 295.

<sup>186</sup> Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapi Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (New York: Cambridge, MA: Architectural History Foundation ; MIT Press, 1991), 151.

returned it to Turkey in 1965.<sup>187</sup> Both of the naval forces at Lepanto understood that they were about to enact a cosmic showdown, in the tradition of Xerxes and Themistocles at Salamis, and Octavian and Antony at Actium. The physical geography played into this sense of epic confrontation. Salamis was only some two hundred kilometers away from Lepanto by road, Actium one-hundred seventy kilometers away by boat.<sup>188</sup> The soldiers on both sides felt that they had entered into the crucible of history, and that the victor would emerge in the forge of battle, blessed by their respective divinity with victory and peace.<sup>189</sup>

Three days after Don Juan took possession of the papal banner, Bragadin died at Famagusta on the seventeenth of August, 1571. Given the nature of sixteenth-century communication, the Holy League did not learn of Bragadin's death until the twenty-second of August. That news served to weld the distrustful, vain, pompous, and persnickety commanders of the Holy League into a mostly-cooperative sailing team.<sup>190</sup> Gian'Andrea Doria was finally able to pass on a last bit of wisdom from his grandfather – Andrea Doria advised the Holy League to remove the elaborate rams and prows from

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<sup>187</sup> Crowley, *Empires of the Sea*, 283.

<sup>188</sup> Guilmartin, *Gunpowder & Galleys*, 247.

<sup>189</sup> Amy G. Remensnyder, "Christian Captives, Muslim Maidens, and Mary," *Speculum* 82 (2007): 645.

<sup>190</sup> The various commanders of the fleet subsections all cheerfully or not-so cheerfully loathed each other. Colonna hated Venier, Venier loathed him back while also despising Venier, who could not stand Colonna either. Gian'Andrea Doria detested everyone except Don Juan. Everybody except Doria thought that Don Juan was an inexperienced dandy. But the 'martyrdom' of Bragadin eked out enough collective rage to bring the forces together for long enough to fight the Turks.

their galleys, thus allowing the first crucial cannon broadside to be fired directly at the waterline of incoming ships.<sup>191</sup> By the end of September, the fleet of the Holy League had anchored along the western shore of Greece, waiting for the Ottomans to depart from their dry-docks at Lepanto.<sup>192</sup> By the first week of October, the seasonal winds began to shift, and both sides knew that the engagement would not be far off. And on the seventh of October, 1571 Müezzinzade Ali Pasha sailed out of the harbor at Lepanto, toward the Holy League's fleet drawn up around the Curzolaris islands,<sup>193</sup> and into history. To make a very long battle short, Christian cannon and harquebus fire won out over Muslim rams and poisoned arrows. Müezzinzade Ali Pasha died in the melee, and the Turks retired in defeat to Constantinople.<sup>194</sup> However, the term 'defeat' will need some interpretation.

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<sup>191</sup> Guilmartin, *Gunpowder & Galleys*, 221.

<sup>192</sup> More so than sailing ships, galleys accumulated an enormous quantity of barnacles and seaweed on their hulls, which had to be scraped off at least once a season. Ali Pasha had been at sea since the first part of March, and by September had moved the Ottoman fleet away from Cyprus and to the dry-dock facilities at Lepanto.

<sup>193</sup> Capponi, *Victory of the West*, 372. Capponi is quite insistent that the battle should be renamed 'The Battle of the Curzolaris' as the Turks rowed out from Lepanto and fought the Christians in front of the barrier islands. Being barrier islands, the Curzolaris disappeared in the early twentieth century with a shifting coastline, which makes Capponi's argument seem precious.

<sup>194</sup> Malcolm, *Agents of Empire*, 165.

### The Cultural Heritage of Lepanto

This thesis deliberately avoids providing further detail on the events on 7 October, 1571. It does so for rhetorical emphasis of two incredibly important historical points — first, despite the horrific loss in men,<sup>195</sup> treasure, and ships, despite all the heroics and the derring-do on both sides at Lepanto, *nothing changed* politically or militarily in the Mediterranean basin during the immediate aftermath. Second, the Ottomans remained culturally unchanged after the battle, but Lepanto does lead to a cultural explosion in Europe. If the reader should desire to know the many notable deeds and fleet maneuvers, the almost innumerable secondary sources, written first in the sixteenth century and continuing with regularity into the twenty-first, some of which are cited herein, supply ample fodder for armchair admiralty. The firsthand accounts of Aurelio Scetti, a Florentine galley slave at the battle,<sup>196</sup> and Miguel de Cervantes *Voyage to Parnassus*,<sup>197</sup> where Cervantes recounts his personal swashbuckling on 7 October, 1571 yield crucial insight. But first, the Ottoman so-called defeat.

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<sup>195</sup> The most astounding feature of the battle of Lepanto, both during the sixteenth century and later, was the rate of carnage. Thirty thousand men, the vast majority Ottoman subjects, died in the eight hours of the battle. That rate of slaughter would not be repeated in Europe until the battle of Loos in 1916. The closest comparable example would be the battle of Sekigahara, 21 October, 1600, between the Eastern Army of Tokugawa Ieyasu and the Western Army of Ishida Mitsunari. But the death tolls from Sekigahara vary widely, from five thousand to thirty-two thousand. The head count at Lepanto achieved a greater degree of accuracy, as the Holy League commanders offered bounties literally on collected Turkish heads.

<sup>196</sup> Aurelio Scetti and Luigi Monga, *The Journal of Aurelio Scetti: A Florentine Galley Slave at Lepanto (1565-1577)*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 266 (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2004).

<sup>197</sup> Ellen D. Lokos, *The Solitary Journey: Cervantes's Voyage to Parnassus*, Studies on Cervantes and His Times, vol. 1 (New York: P. Lang, 1991).

The Battle of Lepanto faded into the Bosphorus fog like a sultan's bad dream. Turkish historians are almost completely silent on it.<sup>198</sup> However, Turkish historians shout to the heavens the account of the Ottoman rearmament. In the winter after Lepanto, the Ottoman naval yards built 150 new galleys, along with eight *manoas*, equivalent to the Venetian galleass.<sup>199</sup> The new fleet commander who replaced the honorably dead Ali Pasha told the Grand Vizier that, while hull construction could be accomplished easily, outfitting the rest of the ship might be a challenge. Sokollu then replied:

Milord Pasha, the might and means of the Sublime Porte are so great that if the order were given to provide anchors of silver, riggings of silk and sails of satin it would be possible — whatsoever is lacking on any ship, just ask me for it!<sup>200</sup>

The above anecdote, or one of any number of versions like it, appears in every English-language history of the Battle of Lepanto, and in many of the sixteenth-century Mediterranean sources the author consulted. This does not cast aspersions on its provenance; if anything, it enhances the probability of Mehmed Sokollu actually saying something close to that. But the near-universal citation highlights the resiliency of the Ottoman Empire. Selim rebuilt his fleet and sent it back out again the next year. Don Juan brought the Holy League too late to engage with the Ottomans, so both sides went back into winter quarters. In 1573 Don Juan managed to capture Tunis, only to lose it to the Ottomans a year later. Also in 1573, the Venetians, tired of

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<sup>198</sup> Malcolm, *Agents of Empire*, 166.

<sup>199</sup> Beeching, *The Galleys at Lepanto*, 228.

<sup>200</sup> Bernard Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2001), 43-44.

the uncertainties that war wreaks upon commerce, conducted a separate treaty with the Ottomans to reopen the trade lanes.<sup>201</sup> By 1577, Murad III had embroiled the empire in yet another war with the Safavids in Iran.<sup>202</sup> As noted previously, while events within the Topkapi's gates shift to the Sultanate of the Women, Ottoman political and military policy toward Europe would remain unchanged for the next thirty years.<sup>203</sup>

In contrast to the steam-in-a-Turkish-bath stagnation endured by the Ottomans, Europe exploded into celebration, a cultural flowering of prose, poetry, painting, sculpture and song that lasted into the second decade of the twentieth century, when G.K. Chesterton published *Lepanto* in 1911 to mass acclaim.<sup>204</sup> Pope Pius V took the action that would have the most permanent effect; having heard the story of Gian'Andrea Doria's protection from his own lips, Pius V declared that the victory came at the intercession of the Virgin Mary by means of the Rosary, and proclaimed each seventh of October to be a feast day to Our Lady of Victory, later changed to Our Lady of the Rosary.<sup>205</sup> The pope's decision was further indicated by other accounts of Marian intervention during the battle: the Ottoman archers took special aim at the Holy League's banner, striking the image of the Virgin in the eyes and

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<sup>201</sup> Finkel, *Osman's Dream*, 161-162.

<sup>202</sup> Colin P Mitchell, *The Practice of Politics in Safavid Iran: Power, Religion and Rhetoric*. (London: I.B. Tauris, 2009), 162.

<sup>203</sup> Jason Goodwin, *Lords of the Horizons: A History of the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Picador, 2003), 160.

<sup>204</sup> G. K. Chesterton and Dale Ahlquist, *Lepanto*, First edition (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2004), xii.

<sup>205</sup> "Our Lady and Islam," accessed March 13, 2017, <http://www.ewtn.com/library/mary/olislam.htm>.

breasts. Don Juan was so enraged that he sent his pet monkey up the mast to remove the offending missiles.<sup>206</sup> Pedro de Aguilar, a colleague of Cervantes both at Lepanto and in captivity would note in his own memoir that the Virgin “fought for us.”<sup>207</sup> The feast of Our Lady of the Rosary continues to be honored in the present, with the current American Catholic lectionary giving the Responsorial Psalm as Psalm 111, that the Lord will remember his covenant, and the Gospel from Luke 11:15-26 wherein Jesus discusses the casting out of devils.<sup>208</sup> The symbolism may be somewhat overplayed. But the Feast of our Lady of the Rosary does not even scratch the surface in terms of European cultural production. As of March 2017, Wikimedia Commons catalogued thirty-six separate paintings portraying various parts of the battle ranging from Old Masters like Tintoretto and Luna to anonymous glazed tiles erected in Cervantes’ birthplace of Cartagena, dating from the 1570s to the 1970s.<sup>209</sup> The upper and middle classes of Europe suddenly renewed and expanded their long-standing interest in cartography, leading to a boom in the printing of atlases and map-books as amateur admirals wished to track

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<sup>206</sup> Remensnyder, “Christian Captives, Muslim Maidens, and Mary,” 647.

<sup>207</sup> Pedro de Aguilar, *Memorias Del Cautivo En La Goleta De Túnez (El Alférez Pedro De Aguilar): Del Original En Poder De Tyssen Amhurst, Esq.Re, De Didlington Hall, Norfolk* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1875), 127. See also Remensnyder, “Christian Captives, Muslim Maidens, and Mary,” 647.

<sup>208</sup> “Memorial of Our Lady of the Rosary,” accessed March 13, 2017, <http://www.usccb.org/bible/readings/100716.cfm>.

<sup>209</sup> “Category: Paintings of Battle of Lepanto - Wikimedia Commons,” accessed March 13, 2017, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Paintings\\_of\\_Battle\\_of\\_Lepanto](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Paintings_of_Battle_of_Lepanto). Of the thirty-six, thirty-two directly reference the battle. It is, after all, a wiki.



the course of the battle.<sup>210</sup> And being the sixteenth century in southern Europe, immediate metaphors connected the present battle and classical antiquity, between Lepanto and Actium.<sup>211</sup> In 2014, the I Tatti Renaissance Library published an anthology of twenty-two poets who wrote in Latin using classical forms to commemorate the battle.<sup>212</sup> James VI and I of Scotland and England composed a thousand-line poem commemorating the event.<sup>213</sup> While the educated classes of Europe amused themselves with beautiful portraits and witty Latin, the former soldiers and sailors in Don Juan's fleet began composing songs and imaging derogatory slang to drive home their victory. Though the Turk's Head Knot existed among sailors before Lepanto, it gained its new appellation as part of the cultural discourse afterwards.<sup>214</sup>

In truth, the Europeans could not stop talking about Lepanto, even centuries after the battle. Nineteenth-century scholars moved the action at Lepanto under the category of 'great battles in history', and even twenty-first century scholars like Victor Davis Hanson could not resist the song of the sirens perched on the rocks around Corfu. In his *Carnage and Culture: Landmark Battles in the Rise to Western Power*, Hanson envisioned the Battle of Lepanto as the first great victory of free market forces over the

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<sup>210</sup> Jenny Jordan, "Galley Warfare in Renaissance Intellectual Layering: Lepanto to Actium," *Viator* 35 (2004): 564.

<sup>211</sup> David Quint, *Epic and Empire: Politics and Generic Form from Virgil to Milton*, Literature in History (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 26.

<sup>212</sup> Elizabeth R. Wright, Sarah Spence, and Andrew Lemons, eds., *The Battle of Lepanto, The I Tatti Renaissance Library* 61 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), iv.

<sup>213</sup> Robert Applebaum, "War and Peace in 'The Lepanto' of James VI and I," *Modern Philology* 97, no. 3 (February 2000): 333.

<sup>214</sup> George Russell Shaw, *Knots, Useful & Ornamental* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1984), 61.

denizens of the *timar* system.<sup>215</sup> His argument concerning European metallurgy's superior collective production of cannon and harquebuses<sup>216</sup> received a strong challenge in Gábor Ágoston's 2008 monograph *Guns for the Sultan: Military Power and the Weapons Industry in the Ottoman Empire*. Ágoston provided the numbers to back up Sokollu's boasting about anchors of silver, as the Ottoman ability to cast reliable cannon matched or exceeded that of the Habsburgs.<sup>217</sup> The most current historiography surrounding Lepanto tends to adopt ideas much closer to the Ottoman conceptions of the battle, and reject the older, Eurocentric historical interpretations.<sup>218</sup> In their textbook, *Empires and Colonies in the Modern World: A Global Perspective*, Heather Streets-Salter and Trevor R. Getz drew this conclusion about Lepanto:

Although European scholars from the nineteenth-century forwards [and backwards] declared it to have been the turning of the tide in a great and assumedly age-old Christian-Muslim conflict, it was in fact nothing of the sort. The Ottomans rapidly rebuilt their Mediterranean fleet, which within four years was in operation as far west as Tunis in support of an army of janissaries. Their advance into the western Mediterranean was only halted because the Ottomans were forced to face a renewed Safavid threat in the east. Meanwhile, the Holy Alliance crumbled: Venice departed the confederation quite rapidly, and in 1580 a truce was signed between the Ottoman and Spanish crowns. A similar agreement was reached between the Austrian Habsburgs and the Ottomans in 1606, ushering in a 50-year period of détente in eastern Europe, which allowed the Habsburgs to

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<sup>215</sup> Victor Davis Hanson, *Carnage and Culture: Landmark Battles in the Rise of Western Power* (New York: Anchor, 2002), 233

<sup>216</sup> Hanson, *Carnage and Culture*, 262.

<sup>217</sup> Gábor Ágoston, *Guns for the Sultan: Military Power and the Weapons Industry in the Ottoman Empire*, Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 53-54.

<sup>218</sup> Including the interpretations of Victor Davis Hanson.

concentrate on repressing Protestantism.<sup>219</sup>

In terms of military conflict, this thesis concurs wholeheartedly with Streets-Salter's and Getz's analysis. But as indicated above, there is more to the human experience than making war. Francis Oakley spent but a few pages on the subject in *The Emergence of Western Political Thought in the Latin Middle Ages*.<sup>220</sup> Given his scanty coverage of the subject of warfare, Oakley's utter neglect of the battle of Lepanto may be forgiven, but the intellectual and cultural ramifications of Lepanto, had he discussed them, would have greatly strengthened his argument. They are the subject for the next chapter.

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<sup>219</sup> Streets-Salter and Getz, *Empires and Colonies in the Modern World*, 73.

<sup>220</sup> Per his indices, roughly fifteen pages out of a total of 1,048 mention 'war' or 'warriors.'

## CHAPTER IV

### SPEAKING OF KINGS: THE EUROPEAN

### GREAT CONVERSATION

### AFTER LEPANTO

#### European Chatter — The Great Conversation

One of the perennial ghosts of Mediterranean studies rears its head in the immediate resilience but the long-term quiescence of the Ottoman Empire after Lepanto. Behind the gradual Ottoman decline lurks questions concerning general changes in Islamic thought and culture. What happened to the cultural vibrancy of the court of Harun al-Rashid?<sup>221</sup> Where did scientific inquiry of Avicenna depart to?<sup>222</sup> Why did the preservation and celebration of classical antiquity pass from Arabia to Europe? The question even appears on screen in David Lean's *Lawrence of Arabia*, where Alec Guinness as Prince Feisal asks Peter O'Toole as T.E. Lawrence:

#### FEISAL

But you know, lieutenant, in the Arab city of Cordova were two miles of public lighting in the streets, when London was a village?

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<sup>221</sup> André Clot, *Harun Al-Rashid and the World of the Thousand and One Nights* (London: Saqi, 2005), 188.

<sup>222</sup> Jon McGinnis, *Avicenna, Great Medieval Thinkers* (Oxford: New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 5.

LAWRENCE

Yes, you were great.

FEISAL

(dryly)

Nine centuries ago.

LAWRENCE

(mildly)

Time to be great again, my lord.

FEISAL

(stiffly)

Which is why my father made this war  
upon the Turks – My father, Mr. Lawrence,  
not the English!

(he is suddenly overcome  
by melancholy)

But my father is old and I – I long for the  
vanished gardens of Cordova. . .<sup>223</sup>

To be sure, it is a question worth asking, and searching for answers for, but it is also one fraught with peril for the fair-minded historian.<sup>224</sup> While O'Toole and Guinness bring their superb acting talent to the scene, and indeed make it one of the highlights of an already pathos-filled film, it certainly reflects the lingering orientalism that Edward Said rightly criticized in his

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<sup>223</sup> David Lean, *Lawrence of Arabia*, 35 mm (Columbia Pictures, 1962) Screenplay by Robert Bolt and Michael Wilson, 51.

<sup>224</sup> Peter Von Sivers, Charles Desnoyers, and George B. Stow, *Patterns of World History with Sources*, Second edition. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 461-462 contains just such a fair-minded argument. India, China, and the Middle East maintained a stability of culture and wealth, with a gradual increasing of refinement. But Europe's very instability forced an acceleration of knowledge accumulation and innovation, which saw the expansion and systematization of exploration in the fifteenth century, culminating in the scientific, industrial, and political revolutions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is only after these revolutions that Europeans can overcome other culturally complex and refined civilizations. See also Bruno Latour, *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers through Society*, 11th printing (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 216- 217.

eponymous book, particularly in the dramatized conversation that has an Irishman and a darkly made-up Englishman discussing Arab nationalism.<sup>225</sup> Said and his intellectual successors have argued well the prejudices and biases almost inherent in those of Western European descent examining the cultures of western Asia, errors which this thesis hopes to avoid. To pivot the focus of inquiry: What made Europe different in the centuries after Lepanto? How did it last to not only endure the Ottoman threat, but to thrive? By his cipher of Lepanto, Francis Oakley painted a picture of a Europe self-involved in itself, an argument that he spends three books drawing out. Although Oakley does not call it such, one possible answer to that question could be a system of ideas, methods, modes, and objects termed the European Great Conversation. The phrase ‘European Great Conversation’ functions as shorthand for ‘European-discourse-culture-and-the-means-by-which-it-expanded-and-endured.’ The origins of the Great Conversation are famously difficult to unearth, especially if one strives to avoid sweeping generalizations and offensive characterizations. One such possible source, dodging through the mists and twists of time, may be the Library of Ashurbanipal. Ashurbanipal wanted to create a cultural safe-deposit box for Mesopotamia, by preserving not only Assyrian court records but also the divinations of Babylonian *barru*-priests and Sumerian epic poetry.<sup>226</sup> Possibly similar

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<sup>225</sup> Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, First Vintage Books edition (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 228.

<sup>226</sup> “British Museum - Ashurbanipal Library Phase 1.”

motives established the Libraries at Alexandria and Pergamum, to preserve the Hellenistic cultural ideas that after the conquests of Alexander the Great held sway from Macedonia to Bactria.<sup>227</sup> Over the centuries, two important Mediterranean-basin trends revealed themselves: First, a propensity to *write down* a great variety of information, from fictional prose and poetry to agricultural guides and treatises on history, from tax records to personal correspondence. Second, an impulse to *share* those writings, both among peers and colleagues through an extensive epistolary network, and for future generations in libraries and archives.<sup>228</sup> It is important to distinguish that these trends flowed about the Mediterranean basin on all sides, and extended eastward in to Asia, southwards to North and Sub-Saharan Africa, and northwards in the general direction of Scandinavia and the British Isles. The Levantine territories that the Ottomans would one day control were part of these trends during antiquity, as evidenced by the spread and codification of a splinter Jewish sect into a global religion.<sup>229</sup> Yet by the third century CE, the *omphalos* of the Great Conversation started to make an almost imperceptible shift north and west. Though diminished during the collapse of the Western Roman Empire, the Great Conversation revives again under the Carolingians and the Abbasids, as discourse and texts are spread from monastery to monastery and from *madrasah* to *bimaristan* by royal

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<sup>227</sup> L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*, Fourth edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 3.

<sup>228</sup> Reynolds and Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*, 43.

<sup>229</sup> Reynolds and Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*, 49.

decree.<sup>230</sup> The Great Conversation gradually accelerates in Europe over the course of the Middle Ages, with Johannes Gutenberg's fashioning of movable type increasing the rate of discourse.<sup>231</sup> By the sixteenth century milieu of Lepanto, books, letters, pamphlets, tracts, and letters all buzzed around Europe like a swarm of bees.

Before going any further, it must be emphasized again that on a world-historical stage, every culture disseminates its various memes, whether by oral transmission or written language. And while no method of culture transmission is inherently superior to another, the European *habitus* seems to accrue some knowledge-based advantages over time.<sup>232</sup> Yet again the question is asked, why is this so? A few tentative answers: First, per capita, a larger number of Europeans participated in the Great Conversation than in other locales. That increased penetration of participation drove a demand for more and more ideas and texts to talk and write about, which in turn increased the copies of texts, and thus increased the odds that a particular text will survive for a long time, based on the number of copies floating about the European continent.<sup>233</sup> Second, the Europeans developed techniques in the technology of text reproduction. Printing presses and movable type assure the same page will appear across thousands or millions of paper sheets.

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<sup>230</sup> Rosamond McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 16.

<sup>231</sup> Reynolds and Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*, 143.

<sup>232</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 24.

<sup>233</sup> Reynolds and Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*, 155.



Though printing existed in China centuries before Gutenberg, the addition of European metallurgy to the mix created an increasingly durable and portative printing surfaces. Third, by the milieu of Lepanto, knowledge acquisition and dissemination became aspirational for Europe's lower classes. Similar to the cultural practices in China, education was the ticket to a more economically secure life. Yet the Chinese civil service exams remained closed to all but the lucky few who could marshal the resources to study for them.<sup>234</sup> In contrast, William Langland's *Piers Plowman* demonstrated the aspirational possibilities education could afford a European male in the Middle Ages.<sup>235</sup> Once again, no value-judgement is being implied in the differences between intra-European and intra-Ottoman discourses, but the Europeans write more than the Ottomans, at greater length, across a wider geographical area, and across more levels of society. The Great Conversation allowed for Europeans to raise risky and strange ideas, from Copernican heliocentrism to Martin Luther's thoughts about papal indulgences, knowing that those ideas could be broadcast beyond an oral-circle-of-exchange. Bruno Latour, though writing of events two centuries after Lepanto, notes of a European<sup>236</sup> ability to gather knowledge about the other side of the world, and transmit it reliably back to a center node for further distribution.<sup>237</sup> Europe as

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<sup>234</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, xii.

<sup>235</sup> William Langland et al., *Piers Plowman: The Donaldson Translation, Select Authoritative Middle English Text, Sources and Backgrounds, Criticism*, First edition, A Norton Critical Edition (New York: W.W. Norton, 2006), 13.

<sup>236</sup> In this case, French.

<sup>237</sup> Bruno Latour, *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers through Society*, 11th printing (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 217.

a whole will use that knowledge management to bring much of the planet under their collective dominion in the centuries after Lepanto. Moreover, this ability to move discourse around with great swiftness directly impacts the first conversation member under examination.

### Jean Bodin and Absolute Monarchy

Jean Bodin lived a life straddling the political, intellectual, and religious fences of Europe. He entered a Carmelite monastery in 1545, only to depart because he felt he swore his monastic vows at too young an age.<sup>238</sup> He went to Paris and received a rigorous humanist education, but was also accused of being a Calvinist heretic.<sup>239</sup> In the 1560s he was a rising star at the French court, but he fell out of royal favor when he opposed Henri III's tax increase at the Estates of Blois.<sup>240</sup> He published one volume, *On the Demon-Mania of Witches*,<sup>241</sup> a book only slightly less influential in the great European witch-craze of the seventeenth century than the *Malleus Maleficarum*, but Bodin also writes the *Colloquium of the Seven About Secrets of the Sublime*,<sup>242</sup> a book advocating for religious tolerance. Though accused of being both an atheist and a Calvinist, he requested to be buried in

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<sup>238</sup> Jean Bodin and Julian H. Franklin, *On Sovereignty: Four Chapters from the Six Books of the Commonwealth*, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought (Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), ix.

<sup>239</sup> Julian H. Franklin, ed., *Jean Bodin*, International Library of Essays in the History of Social and Political Thought (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), xii.

<sup>240</sup> Bodin and Franklin, *On Sovereignty*, x-xi.

<sup>241</sup> Jean Bodin, *On the Demon-Mania of Witches*, Renaissance and Reformation Texts in Translation 7 (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 1995), iii.

<sup>242</sup> Jean Bodin and Marion Leathers Kuntz, *Colloquium of the Seven about Secrets of the Sublime* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), vi.

consecrated ground as a good Catholic, yet he gave instructions for the *Colloquium* to be published secretly after his death, so as not to disturb his chances of a peaceful burial plot.<sup>243</sup> Along with far-ranging Odysseus, Bodin is a man of twists and turns,<sup>244</sup> ever adaptable and difficult to pin down. With the possible exception of Bodin's views on proper government. In the same year that he defied the King at the Estates of Blois, Bodin published his most influential work, *The Six Books of the Commonwealth*, or in French *Les Six livres de la République*. The *Six Books* laid out Bodin's theory of an absolute sovereignty, where the monarch receives full sovereign power from God at their accession. "This power is absolute and sovereign, for it has no other condition than that what is commanded by the law of God and of nature."<sup>245</sup> The sounds a great deal like Oakley's concept of regnal sacrality, and of the Taxonomy of Dominion, where the fountainhead of Authority and Power flows out of divinity. But Bodin only deals with the divine at the accession.<sup>246</sup> After that, heaven becomes as brass, because sovereignty rests *solely* upon the monarch. Once granted to the monarch by God, it cannot be taken away, only abdicated away from.<sup>247</sup> The differences between this absolute sovereignty and regnal sacrality are stark. Philip II derives his Authority from his holy anointing, and his Coercive capability is enhanced by his own

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<sup>243</sup> Bodin and Franklin, *On Sovereignty*, xii.

<sup>244</sup> Homer, *The Odyssey*, 1.1 πολύτροπος, many-twisted.

<sup>245</sup> Bodin and Franklin, *On Sovereignty*, 8.

<sup>246</sup> Julian H. Franklin, *Jean Bodin and the Rise of Absolutist Theory*, Cambridge Studies in the History and Theory of Politics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 35.

<sup>247</sup> Richard Tuck, *The Sleeping Sovereign: The Invention of Modern Democracy*, The Seeley Lectures (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 25.

personal righteousness. He acts to fulfill God's will, not his own.<sup>248</sup> In contrast, Bodin's view edges much closer to the *de facto* Islamic view of regnal sacrality, in which Selim the Sot is Commander of the Faithful whether he is a pious Muslim or whether he falls asleep each night in a drunken stupor. The role of sultan and caliph itself is holy, and must be acknowledged as the wellspring of Dominion whether the current occupant strictly follows *sharia* or not. Both Bodin's and the Ottoman's position works well in a vigorous, reasonably intelligent monarch.<sup>249</sup> But the genetic roulette-wheel does not always land the white ball of Authority on the most prepared monarch-in-waiting. On the one hand, the Ottomans get Suleiman the Magnificent and the French get Louis XIV, whose "L'état, C'est Moi" perfectly encapsulates Bodin's idea of the absolute monarch.<sup>250</sup> On the other hand, if all Dominion remains forever unassailable in the monarch's hands, then the Ottomans must endure Selim II and the French must cope with Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette's "let them eat cake."<sup>251</sup> The contradictions compound when the historical contingencies are considered. Bodin published *The Six Books* in the same year that he told Henri III to go beg somewhere else for his money.<sup>252</sup> Was Bodin an inconstant rogue, changing his mind at the drop of a Huguenot head? Such a characterization belies the complexity of Bodin's thinking. In

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<sup>248</sup> Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995), 676.

<sup>249</sup> Tuck, *The Sleeping Sovereign*, 26.

<sup>250</sup> Franklin, *Jean Bodin and the Rise of Absolutist Theory*, 109.

<sup>251</sup> More accurately, let them eat *brioche*.

<sup>252</sup> Preston T. King, *The Ideology of Order: A Comparative Analysis of Jean Bodin and Thomas Hobbes*, New edition (London; Portland, OR: F. Cass, 1999), 53.

fact, the combination of Huguenots and Lepanto would lead Bodin into some-then-stygian-thought-realms concerning religion.

Bodin lived and died as a Catholic, but his private thoughts concerning religion held a great deal more diversity. His final treatise, the *Colloquium of the Seven About Secrets of the Sublime*, used as a leitmotif a discussion between a Roman Catholic, a Calvinist, a Muslim, a Jew, a Lutheran, a skeptic, and a natural philosopher.<sup>253</sup> One of the conclusions arrived at considered that all religions that upheld morality and encouraged humans to worship God would command the respect of all men of good will.<sup>254</sup> Beyond those bounds, pushing the sacred into public life, the *sacredotum* combined with the *res publica* would only cause unnecessary woe, woe that Bodin knew quite personally as a survivor of the French Wars of Religion.<sup>255</sup> But while the Wars of Religion may have been the proximate source for Bodin's almost-deist ecumenism, in the background floated the corpses from Lepanto. Bodin considered Lepanto an unmitigated waste, caused by an overreaching Habsburg greed to dominate an innocent polity.<sup>256</sup> Moreover, Bodin viewed the Ottoman empire as a "seigneurial monarchy," one to be admired for its strong economic foundations, religious toleration and meritocratic impulses.<sup>257</sup> In her monograph *Orientalism in Early Modern France*:

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<sup>253</sup> Bodin and Kuntz, *Colloquium of the Seven about Secrets of the Sublime*, xxxviii.

<sup>254</sup> Bodin and Kuntz, *Colloquium of the Seven about Secrets of the Sublime*, 172.

<sup>255</sup> Bodin and Franklin, *On Sovereignty*, xi.

<sup>256</sup> Thierry Hentsch, *Imagining the Middle East*, Black Rose Books, V 179 (Montréal: Black Rose Books, 1992), 52.

<sup>257</sup> Jean Bodin, *Six Books of the Commonwealth* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1967), Book 6, 535.

*Eurasian Trade, Exoticism and the Ancien Régime*, Ina Baghdiantz McCabe noted that when the rest of Europe rejoiced at Lepanto, “Jean Bodin wrote about the might of the Ottoman Sultan, the discipline of his troops, and the soundness of Ottoman finances in the wake of this battle.”<sup>258</sup> Preston King’s paraphrase of Louis Couzinnet<sup>259</sup> sums up Bodin’s position:

Absolute monarchy, based essentially upon the unlimited power of the prince, was born in circumstances where such a form of government was necessary and where its early defenders, like Bodin, were concerned to promote the well-being of the nation. He clearly saw absolutism as a means of improving conditions [then extant] in France. But once the crisis was over, the absolutist principle degenerated into a dogma, converting the absolute power of the king from a mere means to an end in itself.<sup>260</sup>

### Thomas Hobbes and the Social Contract

Jean Bodin lived and worked in a polity that lacked a substantive tradition of representative democracy, and Bodin’s personal experience with it during the Estates at Blois did not go well for him.<sup>261</sup> One notable difference between the accession of William and Mary to the English throne and the French Revolution may be the respective familiarity with parliamentary traditions. But Thomas Hobbes is not the English doppelgänger of Jean Bodin, but rather his own man, who departs even further away from regnal sacrality. He was born in the village of Westport in

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<sup>258</sup> Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, *Orientalism in Early Modern France: Eurasian Trade, Exoticism and the Ancien Régime* (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2008), 64.

<sup>259</sup> Louis Couzinnet, *“Le Prince” De Machiavel Et La Théorie de l’Absolutisme* (Forgotten Books, 2017), 216.

<sup>260</sup> King, *The Ideology of Order*, 55.

<sup>261</sup> Bodin and Franklin, *On Sovereignty*, x-xi.

Wiltshire, on the fifth of April, 1588. A premature birth, his mother went into labor at the approach of Philip II's Spanish Armada, and Hobbes would later say that "my mother gave birth to twins: myself and fear."<sup>262</sup> He studied first with private tutors and then at Oxford, taking a post upon completing his B.A. with the family of the Earl of Devonshire, whom he would be employed with off and on for the rest of his life.<sup>263</sup> Upon assuming his first posting with the Devonshire-Cavendish family,<sup>264</sup> Hobbes began a lifelong program of intellectual production that began with the first full English translation of Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War*<sup>265</sup> in 1628 and would end with the publication of *Behemoth, or The Long Parliament*<sup>266</sup> after his death in 1679. The balance of his life would be consumed by two historical contingencies: the writing and publication of *Leviathan* in 1651 and the English Civil War. Neither event could be disentangled from the other.<sup>267</sup> For Jean Bodin, the French Wars of Religion loom through his works like a Cavalier in the drawing-room — the scent of the goose grease he uses to wax his mustachios permeates the room, and his sword glints ominously in the

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<sup>262</sup> "Thomas Hobbes Biography - Life, Family, Childhood, History, Wife, Mother, Old, Information, Born, College, Contract," accessed March 13, 2017, <http://www.notablebiographies.com/He-Ho/Hobbes-Thomas.html>.

<sup>263</sup> Thomas Hobbes and E. M. Curley, *Leviathan: With Selected Variants from the Latin Edition of 1668* (Indianapolis: Hackett Pub. Co, 1994), viii.

<sup>264</sup> He would be sacked, and then rehired twice before the Civil War.

<sup>265</sup> Thucydides, Thomas Hobbes, and David Grene, *The Peloponnesian War*, University of Chicago Press edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

<sup>266</sup> Thomas Hobbes, Ferdinand Tönnies, and Stephen Holmes, *Behemoth; or, The Long Parliament* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).

<sup>267</sup> Tom Sorell, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Hobbes* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 27.

sunshine, but he otherwise remains peeved off in a corner. For Thomas Hobbes, the English Civil War ranted through his scholarly production like a Roundhead in a brothel — piously condemning the patrons and staff for their gross wickedness while bellowing loud, out-of-tune Psalms to drive off any lustful thoughts. Driven into exile in Paris first by sympathies too overly royalist, and then shunned by the Restoration cadre for writings too favorable towards Parliament, Hobbes detested the physical and political wreckage the Civil War wrought upon England.<sup>268</sup> Perhaps surprisingly, he put one of the motives for the conflict as the over-education of England's youth:

. . . there were an exceeding great number of men of the better sort, that had been so educated, as that in their youth having read the books written by famous men of the ancient Grecian and Roman commonwealths concerning their polity and great actions; in which books the popular government was extolled by the glorious name of liberty, and monarchy disgraced by the name of tyranny; they became thereby in love with their forms of government. And out of these men were chosen the greatest part of the House of Commons, or if they were not the greatest part, yet, by advantage of their eloquence, were always able to sway the rest.<sup>269</sup>

While Hobbes personally preferred monarchy, his chief desire for any political structure was that it worked.<sup>270</sup> Hobbes shared Bodin's view that the battle of Lepanto provided excellent evidence of sacral monarchies not fulfilling their part of the bargain, though he did not

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<sup>268</sup> King, *The Ideology of Order*, 70.

<sup>269</sup> Hobbes, Tönnies, and Holmes, *Behemoth; Or, The Long Parliament*, 3.

<sup>270</sup> Oakley, *The Watershed of Modern Politics*, 176.



share in Bodin's approbation of Ottoman virtues.<sup>271</sup> Hobbes viewed the Habsburgs and the Ottomans as engaged in mostly pointless warfare that did not bring prosperity to their respective states, but rather drained their treasuries and killed their subjects in conflicts concerning whose god was greater.<sup>272</sup> Hobbes was equally abrupt with his native English institutions, although in a flipped reflection of his critiques of regal sacrality. The Long Parliament's failure stemmed in part from their love of classical republicanism, but had the Puritans managed to be *secular* advocates of a republic, Hobbes may have been more tolerant. But the Long Parliament, and the Protectorship of Oliver Cromwell functioned as the mirror opposite to regnal sacrality; the Puritans kept the sacrality, and beheaded the regnal.

The idea of keeping religion in politics remained a potent one, especially in England's North American territories. Philip Gorski, in his 2017 book, *American Covenant: A History of Civil Religion from the Puritans to the Present* argued that the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay desired to form a "prophetic republic,"<sup>273</sup> a system where Authority flowed from God not into one sole human symbol, but into many, a diffusion of Authority and Power amongst the righteous. Gorski posited that the text of the Mayflower Compact demonstrated

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<sup>271</sup> King, *The Ideology of Order*, 270.

<sup>272</sup> King, *The Ideology of Order*, 272.

<sup>273</sup> Philip S. Gorski, *American Covenant: A History of Civil Religion from the Puritans to the Present* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017), 6.

an early dichotomy in a separation from the king, while pledging allegiance to him. The text of the Compact reads:

In the name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread Sovereign Lord King James, by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France, and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, etc. Having undertaken for the Glory of God and advancement of the Christian Faith and Honour of our King and Country, a Voyage to plant the First Colony in the Northern Parts of Virginia, do by these presents solemnly and mutually in the presence of God and one of another, Covenant and Combine ourselves together in a Civil Body Politic, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute and frame such just and equal Laws, Ordinances, Acts, Constitutions and Offices from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the Colony, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cape Cod, the 11th of November, in the year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King James, of England, France and Ireland the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth. Anno Domini 1620.<sup>274</sup>

The Compact begins with an invocation to God, and then an acknowledgment of the signatories' recognition of the Dominion of King James over them. But then there is an immediate, and subtle severing of the King's Dominion, as they "Covenant and Combine ourselves together in a Civil Body Politic." The Compact ends with another ritual signaling of the Authority of King James, but by forming a new Civil Body Politic, the signers of the Compact have already begun the process of separating themselves from the old Tudor ideal of the Royal Body Politic analyzed by Kantorowicz.<sup>275</sup> Gorski further argued

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<sup>274</sup> "Mayflower and Mayflower Compact | Plimoth Plantation," accessed April 5, 2017, <https://www.plimoth.org/learn/just-kids/homework-help/mayflower-and-mayflower-compact>.

<sup>275</sup> Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, xi.

that with each successive colonial charter, such as those in Dedham and Boston, the king withdrew from the colonists' minds, while deity moved closer.<sup>276</sup> The Puritans felt that only by retreating into the wilderness could they tap into divine Authority on an egalitarian basis.<sup>277</sup> Robert A. Orsi argued in his monograph *History and Presence* that "The simple equation—Catholics=presence, Protestants=absence was a caricature and polemical overstatement in early modernity,"<sup>278</sup> yet that divide accounted for both the presence/absence of the divine and the sacral monarch. The Puritans could approach the presence of the divine more easily in America, and they would substitute their own political ideas for the absent king. The fledgling Americans replaced the royal rituals of Authority with a fusion of Calvinism and the republican ideals garnered from antiquity, the combination of which Hobbes directly linked to the English Civil War. Towards the end of the *Leviathan*, Hobbes intoned this malediction:

And if a man would well observe that which is delivered in the histories, concerning the religious rites of the Greeks and Romans, I doubt not but he might find many more of these old empty bottles of Gentilism which the doctors of the Roman Church, either by negligence or ambition, have filled up again with the new wine of Christianity, that will not fail in time to break them.<sup>279</sup>

To Hobbes, the vile combination of republicanism with Puritan prophetic

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<sup>276</sup> Gorski, *American Covenant*, 43.

<sup>277</sup> Gorski, *American Covenant*, 44.

<sup>278</sup> Robert A. Orsi, *History and Presence* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016), 25.

<sup>279</sup> Hobbes and Curley, *Leviathan*, 537. See also the title of Francis Oakley's first volume of *The Emergence of Western Political Thought in the Latin Middle Ages*.

Christianity nearly destroyed the ‘commonwealth’ of England;<sup>280</sup> while *Leviathan* set out Hobbes’ philosophy of the ideal state, *Behemoth* showed what happened when the “empty bottles of Gentilism” finally broke.

Hobbes’ solution, to the meddling of religion in politics, whether sacral monarchies or sacral republics, divorced religion from the governance of the commonwealth entirely.<sup>281</sup> Philip Gorski terms this idea “radical secularism” and contended that the cultural conflicts that shaped American history, can be plotted between William Bradford’s and John Winthrop’s prophetic republicanism on the one hand, and this Hobbesian radical secularism on the other.<sup>282</sup> Other seventeenth-century English political observers, notably James Harrington in his essay on political philosophy, *The Commonwealth of Oceana*, also inveighed against the mixture of the holy and the public good.<sup>283</sup> Harrington’s ideas so enraged Oliver Cromwell that he censured the book at its first attempted publication, and only accepted it after Harrington secured the support of Cromwell’s favorite daughter, completed revisions, and dedicated the book to him.<sup>284</sup> While Harrington made frequent reference to Hobbes’ *Leviathan*, Hobbes in his later works did not return the compliment, perhaps because of Harrington’s submission to the political-religious

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<sup>280</sup> Not in the Cromwellian sense, but rather as the common good of the people in England.

<sup>281</sup> Jean Jacques Rousseau will also greatly expand on this idea. While Rousseau was relevant to American ideas of government, Hobbes was infinitely more so, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

<sup>282</sup> Gorski, *American Covenant*, 216.

<sup>283</sup> James Harrington, and J. G. A. Pocock, *The Commonwealth of Oceana; and, A System of Politics*, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 14.

<sup>284</sup> Harrington and Pocock, *The Commonwealth of Oceana*, vi.

Authority of the Protector. Religion, Hobbes argued, is a thin veneer over the state of nature that all humanity wishes to avoid, but cannot do so unless they band together.<sup>285</sup> Religion can Dominate politics, as James Harrington discovered, but eventually, religion becomes politically distasteful; it simply adds another layer of conflict to a political construction bound together by self-interest. Rather, Hobbes thought it best to thrust God out of the seat of government, and acknowledge that humanity operates under a social contract.<sup>286</sup> The Social Contract removes the need for a divine fountainhead of Authority, as *human beings in their own selves* hold the Authority necessary to exercise Power, wield Coercion and apply Force, by means of the Social Contract all humans operate under. For Hobbes, Authority remains just as extra-local and abstract as it does under sacral monarchies, but the abstraction of divinity subsumes under the abstraction of the will of the people. As noted before, the Social Contract cannot be signed, or looked at, but Hobbes transmuted the old Latin aphorism, '*Vox populi, vox dei*,' by eliminating the voice of God. Oliver Cromwell, William Bradford, and John Winthrop believed in '*Vox populi, vox dei*' as a functional truism,<sup>287</sup> while James Harrington awkwardly jumped between two branches, on the one hand needing to please the Lord Protector, on the other hand wishing to implement a Platonic Republic operating under the principles of Machiavelli and

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<sup>285</sup> Oakley, *The Watershed of Modern Politics*, 187.

<sup>286</sup> Sorell, *The Cambridge Companion to Hobbes*, 121.

<sup>287</sup> Oakley, *The Watershed of Modern Politics*, 56.

Hobbes.<sup>288</sup> Perhaps Hobbes' last revenge against the chief regicide was to leave the Voice of the People, alone and supreme at last, able to leave religion in a private sphere whilst they got about running a now constitutional monarchy. Thomas Hobbes survived the English Civil War and was reunited with one of his old pupils, now Charles II. The King granted the scholar a pension of 100 pounds' sterling, and proved to be at least somewhat of a protection for him against bitter Puritans and angry Stuart retainers who thought Hobbes advocated both treason and atheism.<sup>289</sup>

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<sup>288</sup> Harrington and Pocock, *The Commonwealth of Oceana*, xv. To be clear, Harrington admired the Machiavellian thought in *The Discourses on Livy*, not the polemic found in *The Prince*.

<sup>289</sup> Jon Parkin, *Taming the Leviathan: The Reception of the Political and Religious Ideas of Thomas Hobbes in England, 1640-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 210.

## CHAPTER V

## CONCLUSION

### A Reassessment of Lepanto

Amidst all the paintings, and Masses, and poems, and songs that extolled the ‘victory’ at Lepanto, the political theorizing of one bearded Frenchman and one clean-shaven Englishman can get lost in the parade. The misdirection is understandable; Lepanto was not obviously central to either of their philosophies or constructions. But obvious is the operative word here; for Jean Bodin and Thomas Hobbes, Lepanto lay across their imaginations like a sated wolf reclining on the far side of a pasture, having ravaged the sheep. For Hobbes, Lepanto demonstrated the perils of regnal sacrality as a thing — sticking God into politics inevitably led to pointless suffering. Bodin metaphorically cheered for the Turks at Lepanto, both as a French subject allied with them, but also as a political observer who saw a lousy government fighting against a better one. Again, Francis Oakley dealt extensively with Hobbes and Bodin, but he did not address, in any way, the influence of Lepanto upon them. As noted previously, this omission may be to Oakley’s focus on a mostly nonmilitary analysis of kingship and Dominion, but his neglect of Lepanto leaves both the largest battle of the sixteenth century, and

its tsunami-like aftereffects unexamined, a leak in Oakley's argument-galley that this thesis has sought to plug. Oakley's *magnum opus* represents a huge leap forward in historical understanding of kingship and regnal sacrality, but an understanding of the cultural importance of Lepanto strengthens Oakley's contentions.

Both Hobbes and Bodin dealt with accusations of misanthropy, of casting gloom on the dawn of a new age. Yet sometimes the prophet at the edge of the crowd, wearing an ox yoke as symbol of captivity has it right: the Chaldeans are coming, and they will take away you and your children to a far-off land of misery and woe.<sup>290</sup> Bodin and Hobbes offered the opposite of captivity and torment, but often when the slaves received manumission, they remembered the fish which they ate freely, the cucumbers and the melons, and the leeks and the onions and the garlic and wanted to remain in Goshen a little longer.<sup>291</sup> As for the rest of the Europe, that "[sat] at the edge of ruin, and discuss[ed] the pleasures of the table, or the small doings of their fathers, grandfathers, and great-grandfathers, and remoter cousins to the ninth degree?"<sup>292</sup> From their perspective, the rejoicing was genuine and well-deserved. They knew that they had achieved a great victory. Noel Malcolm provides the following, counter-factual possibility to an Ottoman victory at Lepanto:

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<sup>290</sup> See Jeremiah 28:13.

<sup>291</sup> See Numbers 11:54.

<sup>292</sup> John Ronald Reuel Tolkien, *The Hobbit and the Lord of the Rings: The Two Towers* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1994), 178.



Had the Ottomans been victorious at Lepanto, they would have retuned in the following year to undertake a major siege of Corfu. And had that been successful, they would have had the confidence, and the ability, to mount not just a raid on southern Italy, but an invasion of it. The remnants of the Venetian fleet would have been bottled up in the northern Adriatic, and a depleted Spanish-Genoese-papal fleet would not have been sufficient to oppose the Ottoman landing force. In the end, of course, this never happened. But it was the logic of this scenario that linked the fates of Venice and Spain at the deepest level.<sup>293</sup>

Counter-factual supposition always runs the risk of ending up in bizarre or ridiculous places, but Malcolm's reasoning is sound. Southern Europe had dodged an Ottoman fusillade, and could exult, for the few months before the corsairs went back out to reave, steal, and enslave, in peace.

### Back at Westminster Abbey

With the aching slowness of a dowager countess getting into an automobile, the polities of Europe began to reduce, and in some cases, abandon<sup>294</sup> the once beloved institution of regnal sacrality. It still clings on here and there in odd and unanticipated places. The oaths sworn upon religious books invoke the Authority of the divine to give testimony along with the person on the witness stand. Yet while modernity has largely liberated itself from the idea that Authority must needs be invested by the divine, there is also a recognition among some of a loss, a diminishment in the mystery of the world. C.S. Lewis noted part of this phenomenon in the

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<sup>293</sup> Malcolm, *Agents of Empire*, 174

<sup>294</sup> The French Revolution, and the several attempts it took to stick around.

first chapter of his book, *The Discarded Image: An Introduction to Medieval and Renaissance Literature*:

When we speak of the Middle Ages as the ages of Authority we are usually thinking about the Authority of the Church. But they were the age not only of her Authority, but of Authorities. If their culture is regarded as a response to their environment, then the elements in that environment to which it responded most vigorously were manuscripts.<sup>295</sup>

Manuscripts preserved in libraries, protected in archives, passed on as inheritances of estates and pulled out of desks as parts of the European Great Conversation. Those same manuscripts would preserve the rituals and ceremonies for conferring Authority, from God through the hands and words of the clergy on to the people who with a sweet-smelling chrism gained an extra body, the body politic to carry around the world with them. The sublimated need for moderns to access this kingdom of mysticism and Power manifests itself in several ways; the rise of science fiction and fantasy literature being one of the most obvious. But there are a few physical places left in an otherwise drab and logical world where the *numen* of regnal sacrality endures. One such place, and moment happened on the second of June, 1953 to George II's fifth-great-granddaughter, in the same place where the choir forgot to sing the welcome anthem for him. Fortunately, for Elizabeth Alexandra Mary Windsor, they remembered. The 2016 Netflix series *The Crown* chronicles Elizabeth's marriage and relationships up to,

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<sup>295</sup> C. S. Lewis, *The Discarded Image: An Introduction to Medieval and Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 5. The capitalizations of 'Authority' are the author's, and not those of Lewis.

and then past her coronation. The fifth episode, “Smoke and Mirrors,” depicts the event itself. While showing some scenes as set within Westminster Abbey, the director Peter Martin skillfully uses an outsider to underline the chief sacral moment of the anointing and then crowning. Martin’s choice of interlocutor is particularly poignant, as the outsider used to be the ultimate insider, the Duke of Windsor, the abdicated King Edward VIII, known as David to his family and intimate friends. Series writer Peter Morgan has him say:

DAVID

Oils and oaths.  
 Orbs and scepters.  
 Symbol upon symbol.  
 An unfathomable web of arcane mystery and liturgy.  
 Blurring so many lines no clergyman or historian  
 or lawyer could ever untangle any of it. . .  
 Who wants transparency when you can  
 have magic? Who wants prose when you can have  
 poetry? Pull away the veil and what are you  
 left with? An ordinary young woman of  
 modest ability and little imagination.  
 But wrap her up like this, anoint her with oil,  
 and hey, presto, what do you have?  
 A goddess.<sup>296</sup>

A woman transformed by regnal sacrality may be a goddess, or a two-bodied human, or just another person, done up for the pictures. It is not the judgment of this thesis to decide. It is the Authority of this thesis, exercised

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<sup>296</sup> “The Crown (2016) S01e05 Episode Script | SS,” accessed March 13, 2017, [http://www.springfieldspringfield.co.uk/view\\_episode\\_scripts.php?tv-show=the-crown-2016&episode=s01e05](http://www.springfieldspringfield.co.uk/view_episode_scripts.php?tv-show=the-crown-2016&episode=s01e05).

through the Power of language, to Coerce the reader into better questions concerning the role of political theology in history.

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